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A DOCUMENTARY STUDY

OF

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEGROES IN NOVA SCOTIA

BETWEEN

THE WAR OF 1812

AND

THE WINNING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

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PREFACE

THIS study, prompted by recent enquiries as to the origin and status of the negro element in the population of Nova Scotia, is concerned chiefly with the history of those Negroes who were brought into the province during and immediately after the War of 1812, since they were destined to become the progenitors of the majority of the Negroes who are in Nova Scotia to-day. Particular attention has been paid to this last group-immigration of colored people, partly because of its importance and partly because there is abundant material in the Archives that has not been explored hitherto. A summary account has been given of previous immigrations and of the removal of the Loyalist Negroes and Maroons to Sierra Leone.

From this summary account of what was comparatively well known, it is apparent that slavery was not uncommon in Nova Scotia from the middle of the eighteenth century, that in the last quarter of that century public opinion was hardening against it, and that in the first decade of the nineteenth century all attempts to obtain legal sanction for the system had failed. By 1808, when this last attempt had failed, most of those who had not been freed when they came to the province and had not agreed to go to Sierra Leone had gradually obtained their freedom, and none could have been compelled to remain in servitude a day longer than he wished.

Statistics are not available as to the number of Negroes who had exercised the franchise prior to the War of 1812; but it is clear that there was no color bar to its exercise at any time in Nova Scotian history. The sole qualification, apart from age, sex and residence, was title to an adequate amount of land; and this qualification a few of the Pre-Loyalist Negroes had gradually obtained, while a considerable number of the Loyalist Negroes undoubtedly possessed it.

By 1812, therefore, slavery had practically ceased to exist in Nova Scotia; and the Negroes were free to enjoy such social and political privileges as their economic status permitted. But the Negroes who were brought to Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816 were to find that color was not the only bar to happiness and prosperity; and the government was to find that a laissez faire policy was not enough for people who had known only servitude and slavery and would need special assistance for several years, merely to preserve them from penury and distress.

Though a paradox, equal social and political privileges for negro and white immigrants actually meant discrimination against the former: for the government could not create the conditions that would enable them to qualify for the exercise of those privileges. There were no cotton or tobacco plantations in Nova Scotia to afford the type of labor to which the Negroes were accustomed; the rigorous northern climate demanded more expensive food, clothing and shelter; and long years of servitude had deprived them

of that initiative and resourcefulness which the white immigrants had developed in fending for themselves.

Moreover, these immigrants had been brought to Nova Scotia at one of the most unfavourable moments in its history. The last years of the War of 1812 were a period of great extremes in wealth and poverty, foreshadowing a period of depression. The year 1816 was "the year without a summer," followed by heavy expenditures on the part of the government for relief of the rural population in flour and meal and seed grain. This year also saw a heavy influx of what Peleg Wiswall called "cast off fishermen" from Newfoundland, and the beginning of a heavy immigration of poor people from the British Isles. At the same time the government had to provide for a considerable number of disbanded soldiers who claimed first consideration because of their services to their country.

How the government of Nova Scotia acted in a situation forced upon them by the exigencies of Imperial policy and how the Negroes themselves fared under the circumstances are the main themes of this study. All things considered, both the government and the colored people emerge with considerable credit. Though little can be said for the altruism of Jeffery or Wallace, others were found to give more disinterested assistance to the new immigrants; and within twenty-five years of their arrival in the province the Negroes themselves had progressed so far as to be able to take sides in the struggle for responsible government on a par with their white fellow countrymen.

The *Novascotian* of January 21, 1841, reports a dinner at Preston at which about 200 colored people, "who took the side of reform during the late election," had partaken of a bountiful repast and received rapturously a number of toasts to the Royal Family, the Lieutenant Governor and the Reformers. "Mr. Samson Carter, in splendid attire, filled the chair, supported by Mr. Septimus D. Clarke, as vice-chairman."

Five years later, about 300 male members of the Charitable African Society of Halifax were planning to celebrate Emancipation Day of their fellow countrymen in the West Indies, by a procession and picnic; and they presented a loyal address to Lieutenant Governor Falkland, in which they spoke of Nova Scotia as a country "where all are free and enjoy equal rights." In the same year an Abolition Society was organized in Halifax to further the abolition of slavery throughout the world; and a new church for the African Episcopal Methodists was erected in Gottingen Street.

By 1846, therefore, it may be said that the colored population of Nova Scotia had entered fully into the life of their adopted country and were enjoying equal rights with their white fellow-countrymen, if not equal things. Mr. Fergusson's careful study of their history shows that this happy consummation was not achieved without much difficulty for the government, not a little assistance from private citizens, religious and charitable organizations, and many trials and vicissitudes for the Negroes themselves.

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Abbreviation:

P.A.N.S.—Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

I

NEGROES IN NOVA SCOTIA PRIOR TO THE WAR OF 1812

Nova Scotia has an honoured place on the scroll recording mankind's advancement in human relations. She has been in the vanguard of those who have successfully striven to abolish political and religious disabilities and, by the time of the War of 1812, might proudly claim the privilege that to touch the soil of this province in itself confers freedom, even on those who had been Negro slaves. In that setting, consequently, it seems less strange that during and immediately after the War of 1812 about two thousand Negro slaves from the Southern States sought and obtained freedom in Nova Scotia.

Pre-Loyalist Negroes

Before 1812, however, there had been Negroes in Nova Scotia. Some had come to this province as slaves, others as free men; and some of those who had arrived as slaves early won their freedom in Nova Scotia. But no legal colour-bar had ever been raised in this province. And here the slaves, who were merely a small overflow from the colonies to the south, achieved their freedom about a quarter of a century before the Abolition of Slavery Act was passed by the British Parliament, and more than fifty years before slavery was abolished in the United States.

The Loyalists were not the first to introduce slaves into Nova Scotia, as has sometimes been stated, although error for a time pointed to that misconception. The Negro, La Liberté, who was at Cape Sable in 1686, when de Meulles prepared a census of Acadie, was perhaps a slave who had escaped from one of the colonies to the south[1]. Slaves came to Halifax, moreover, soon after the founding of that settlement; and others accompanied their masters, the New England planters, into this province. In May and June, 1750, at least fifteen Negroes were among those who were victualled at Halifax.[2] In September, 1759, Malachy Salter in a letter to his wife, who was then visiting in Boston, referred to the Negroes in their household in Halifax, and asked his wife to purchase a Negro boy. In an advertisement in the Boston *Evening Post*, of September, 1751, "ten strong, hearty Negro men, mostly tradesmen, such as caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers and ropemakers," just arrived from Halifax, were offered for sale.[3] By a will of the following year, one man bequeathed a Negro servant to his son; and, in the same year, Joshua Mauger of Halifax offered to sell several Negro slaves. In the newspapers and other documents of the period, there are notices relating to the sale or transfer of slaves, and to rewards offered

1. P.A.N.S., Vol. 2, Doc. 28.
2. Nova Scotia Archives Report, 1941, Appendix B. Captain Bloss, a half pay officer, brought 16 Negroes to Halifax in 1750. P.A.N.S., vol. 35, doc. 25.
3. T. Watson Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. X page 9.

for the return of runaway Negroes. There were Negroes in other settlements besides Halifax. Some arrived in the township of Liverpool, for example, about 1760; and one of these, Barbara Cuffy, held a share in the township.[4] Others resided at various points, such as Bridgetown, Annapolis, Onslow, Cornwallis and Falmouth.[5] In 1770, there were seven Negroes in the township of Annapolis;[6] and about the same time there was one Negro boy in Amherst. Thus before the arrival of the Loyalists there were a small number of Negroes scattered throughout the province.

Loyalist Blacks

Among the Negroes who came to Nova Scotia with the Loyalists were a considerable number of freed men as well as slaves. Most of the freed men had escaped from their masters in the southern colonies. One Negro corps had rendered military service on the side of the British; and nearly every Loyalist corps had representatives of the African race in its ranks as buglers, musicians or pioneers. British generals had offered protection to such slaves who sought refuge within their lines. A large number of these were brought to Birtchtown, near Shelburne, where they received lands and, for at least three years, rations were distributed to them by the British government. Other freed blacks were similarly settled at Preston, Digby, St. John or some adjacent point.

It has been estimated that prior to the summer of 1784, 1232 Negro slaves were brought into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, from the colonies in revolt.[7] In that summer, moreover, 1521 Negroes were mustered at Shelburne, and during the next two or three years, a number of others were brought into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Cape Breton. Some of these Negroes lived at Annapolis, Digby, Clements, Moose River, (now Clementsport), Cornwallis, Horton, Bear River, Granville, Wilmot, Windsor and Newport; others established themselves at Cumberland, Westchester, Minudie, Barronsfield, Musquodoboit, Manchester (Guysborough), Stormont, and Tracadie.

In the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, there are records of 160 grants of land, and of 326 other warrants for grants, for the Loyalist Negroes in Nova Scotia. Of these, 219 were in Annapolis County; 11 in Halifax County; 181 in Shelburne County; and 75 in Sydney (now Antigonish) County, all at Tracadie.[8] In 1785, Pompey Younge, a black man, petitioned for a grant of land at or near the town of Liverpool. He had come to the province as a servant of Captain Noble who left him here so that Younge

4. James F. More, *The History of Queens County, N. S.*, (Halifax, 1873), pages 125-6.
5. T. Watson Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, pp. 10-19; F. W. Harris, "The Negro Population of the County ot Annapolis," p. 4 (P.A.N.S.). Paper read at a meeting of the Historical Association, Annapolis Royal.
6. Nova Scotia Archives Report, 1934, Appendix B.
7. T. Watson Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, pp. 31-2, and P.A.N.S. Shelburne Records, 1769-1868.
8. Public Archives of Nova Scotia Publication No. 4, *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia*, (1937).

might take advantage of His Majesty's bounty to such refugees as settled in Nova Scotia. An order was issued for land to be laid out for this petitioner.[9] In the following year, the Free Negroes at Manchester, Sydney County, reported that they had lived there for two years and had not yet been granted any land; nor had they received any implements, clothing or building materials.[10] Similarly, in 1788, 16 Negroes at Chedabucto, who had been employed in the King's service during the recent war, petitioned for land at Little Tracadie, and a warrant was authorized for eight hundred acres for them. In 1789, 7,500 acres were granted to 149 Loyalist Blacks at Clements; and 450 additional acres to 23 of the Black Pioneers. Ten years later Richard Morris made a plan of land granted to Negroes at Little Tracadie. The two sections of this plan, which contain 36 names, are referred to as parts of the 3,000 acres granted to the Blacks in that locality.[11] One Negro, who had lived at Shelburne for two years and then at Chester for twenty-three years, in 1809 sought and received permission to occupy a vacant lot on Oak Island.[12] In the same year, twenty-one men of colour in Annapolis County petitioned for land. They had all then been in the province for more than fifteen years, and most of them for more than twenty years. They stated that arrangements had been made twenty years earlier to lay out for them a tract of land between Moose and Bear Rivers, in the township of Clements, in the rear of the Hessian settlement. Then some of them had cleared a road from Bear to Moose River in front of this tract; but further improvements were suspended when the Blacks emigrated to Sierra Leone. About 1805, this tract was laid out in 100-acre lots but no improvement was made on them until March, 1809. In that year, some of the inhabitants of the Hessian settlement applied for this land, and the Deputy Surveyor laid it out for them. In another petition, four Negroes of Digby in 1809 asked for 200 and 100-acre lots in the township of Clements.

First Exodus to Sierra Leone

Early in 1792, nearly 1,200 Free Negroes left Nova Scotia to form a settlement in Sierra Leone. This resulted from the visit of the Negro, Thomas Peters, to England, and the visit of John Clarkson, brother of Thomas Clarkson, to Nova Scotia. Before this time, moreover, the anti-slavery people in England had formed a plan to settle a number of slaves, who had escaped from America and found their way to England, on the west coast of Africa. In Nova Scotia, the result was that Negroes were

9. P.A.N.S. Land Papers.
10. Ditto.
11. P.A.N.S. Box of Guysborough County Land Grants, Docs. 29 and 30.
12. P.A.N.S., Land Papers, Petition of Samuel Ball.
13. P.A.N.S., Land Papers, Petition of Abedingo Jordan and others

brought from various parts of the province to Halifax, and on January 15, 1792, they embarked for Sierra Leone.[14]

The Maroons

The next considerable group of Negroes to reach Nova Scotia were the Maroons, who arrived in Halifax from Jamaica on July 22, 1796, about four years after the departure of many of the Free Negroes. Five or six hundred Maroons came to Nova Scotia; but in 1800 virtually all of them followed the Free Negroes to Sierra Leone.[15]

Negroes Remaining in Nova Scotia

After the departure of the expeditions for Sierra Leone in 1792 and 1800, it appears that several hundred Negroes still remained in Nova Scotia. It has been estimated that there were 451 in the town and peninsula of Halifax in 1802;[16] and there were others at various places in the province.

Slavery and Its Disappearance

Throughout the last two decades of the eighteenth century, there were sales and transfers of slaves in Nova Scotia. As late as September 7, 1790, for example, there was an advertisement in the *Royal Gazette and Nova Scotia Advertiser* for the unconditional sale of a slave. In June, 1800, moreover, a notice appeared in a Halifax paper referring to the proposed "sale for a term of years, as may be agreed on, a likely, stout, Negro girl aged 18 years, good natured, fond of children, and accustomed to both town and country work." This notice was inserted in the paper almost four years after Governor Wentworth in October, 1796, wrote to the Duke of Portland that "Slavery being almost exterminated here, distinctions naturally painful to these people (the Negroes) are gradually dying away."

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14. In the "General Embarkation List of Free Blacks on board the Fleet for Sierra Leone" in *Clarkson's Mission to Africa*, (P.A.N.S.), pp. 353-4, it is stated that the total number was 1190. In *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, by Beamish Murdoch, 1865-7, reference is made (p. 99) to 1200; in *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, by Mrs. William Lawson, (Halifax, 1893), it is stated (p. 157) that 1195 embarked and 65 of them died during the voyage. See also *Story of Deportation of Negroes from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone*, by Sir A. Archibald, vol. VII of Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, p. 145, and *History of Halifax City*, by T. B. Akins, vol. VIII of Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. In his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, (Halifax, 1829, 2 vols.), Haliburton stated that 1196 embarked, 65 died during the passage, and 1131 arrived at Sierra Leone, vol. II, p. 282.

15. *Maroon*, said to be a corruption of the Spanish *cimarron*, meaning "wild" or "untamed." For the history of the Maroons in Nova Scotia, see *Nova Scotia* by Duncan Campbell (Montreal, 1873), pp. 197-208. Campbell stated that about five hundred Maroons arrived in Halifax. Archibald, in *Story of Deportation of Negroes*, vol. VII, Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, p. 150, stated that they numbered from five to six hundred. According to Haliburton, there were 600 (*A Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, vol. II, p. 285). Akins (in *History of Halifax City*, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. VIII, p. 111) and Murdoch (in *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 147) stated that the number was 500. Mrs. Lawson (in *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, p. 176), stated that 551 left in August, 1800, for Africa.

See also *Diary of William Dunlop*, vol. I, Collections of New York Historical Society, 1929, pp. 182-8, for additional information about the Maroons.

16. Akins, *History of Halifax*, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. VIII, p. 134. Murdoch, vol. III, p. 215.

This statement was perhaps an indication of the views of the judiciary of that day, and was certainly an anticipation of the situation a few years later. But several sales of slaves took place in Nova Scotia even as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century.[17]

Sentiment among Nova Scotians generally, if not among all slave proprietors in the province, was similar to public opinion of the time in England. There the Church had early succeeded in putting an end to the traffic in English slaves, but slavery itself in England had not been abolished by any positive enactment. The decision, therefore, of Lord Mansfield, in the case of the Negro Somerset (1772), that slavery could not exist in England, had no legal foundation, and merely reflected public opinion of that day. About ten years later, Thomas Clarkson began the movement for the abolition of the slave trade; and soon he was assisted by the Society of Friends as well as by individual philanthropists such as Zachary Macaulay and Wilberforce. By 1792 a motion was carried in the House of Commons for the gradual abolition of the trade. In 1805 an order in council was issued prohibiting the traffic with colonies acquired during the war, and in 1806 a bill was passed against the trading in slaves by British subjects with these colonies or with foreign possessions. Traffic with the older British possessions was apparently thus still allowed; but this, too, was abolished by the General Abolition Act of 1807. Governor Wentworth's comment in October, 1796, was an indication of a similar trend in Nova Scotia.

As early as 1787, when an Act was passed for the regulating of servants, there was a clause inserted for the control of Negro slaves, which was rejected on the ground that slavery did not exist in this province, and ought not to be mentioned.[18]

Again, in 1789, an effort was made towards "the Regulation & Relief of the free Negroes within the Province of Nova Scotia." The preamble and substance of a bill that was introduced into the Assembly in that year, but which never became law, were as follows:

> "Whereas the free Negroes residing in this Province are daily increasing and many inconveniences are likely to arise if the strictest order and regularity be not observed among that class of people, and Whereas upon every principle of justice and humanity they are entitled to every right and priviledge (sic) of British Subjects, and no person or persons whatsoever can by authority of Law enslave them unless they are proved by Birth or otherwise to be bound to Servitude for Life, And Whereas attempts have been made to carry some of them out of the Province, by force and Strategm (sic), for the scandalous purpose of making property of them in the West Indies contrary to their will and consent, for preventing whereof," be it enacted . . . that . . . all Negroes residing within this Province who are not slaves

17. T. W. Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 52-71. And More, *History of Queens County*, p. 126.
18. T. W. Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, p. 109.

by birth or otherwise and who shall be convicted, before any three Justices of the County in which such Negroes shall be found, of not having a fixed place of abode or a proper means of subsistence, or of being idle, disorderly persons, could be bound to any person or persons for any term not exceeding seven years, provided that the master or mistress of the said Negroes "shall not carry them out of the Province upon pain of incurring the penalty" of £100 for each Negro so carried away. Negroes who refused to submit to the directed examination or who, after examination, refused to serve the persons to whom they were bound, might be committed by the Justices to the House of Correction or County Gaol. It was also to be enacted that the "free Negroes residing within the Province shall be entitled to the Security and protection of the Laws in as full and ample a manner as the rest of His Majesty's liege Subjects within this Province now enjoy them, and that their persons and property shall at all times be subject to the same restrictions and indulgences."[19]

On April 2, 1789, the Council refused to agree to this bill, and thereby rejected the clause in it recognizing the slavery of Negroes as a statute right.

That trend in Nova Scotia had the strong support of two of the Chief Justices of the Province. In January, 1800, Chief Justice S. S. Blowers, in a confidential letter to Ward Chipman, afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, informed him that "the question of the slavery of Negroes had been often agitated in Nova Scotia in different ways, but had not received a direct decision." Blowers' immediate predecessor, Sir Thomas Strange, had (Blowers added) "dexterously avoided an adjudication of the principal point, yet, as he required the fullest proof of the master's claim in point of fact, it was found generally very easy to succeed in favour of the Negro by taking some exceptions collateral to the general question, and therefore that course was taken;" and "several trials have been had in which the jury decided against the master." Mr. Blowers had frequently discussed the matter with Mr. Strange and always found that he wished rather to wear out the claim of the slave-holders gradually "than to throw so much property, as it is called, into the air at once." After his appointment as Chief Justice in 1797, Blowers adopted the same policy as his predecessor had on this subject. On one occasion a black woman was brought before Blowers on *habeas corpus* from the jail at Annapolis Royal. "The return," he wrote, "was defective and she was discharged, but as she was claimed as a slave I intimated that an action should be brought to try the right, and was brought against a person who had received and hired the wench. At the trial the plaintiff proved a purchase of the Negro in New York as a slave, but as he could not prove that the seller had a legal right so to dispose of her, I directed the jury to find for the defendant, which they readily did."[20]

19. P.A.N.S., Unpassed Bills, 1789.
20. T. W. Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, pp. 97-113.
See also F. W. Harris, "The Negro Population of the County of Annapolis," a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, Nov. 11, 1920. P.A.N.S.; and I. Allen Jack, *The Loyalists and Slavery in New Brunswick*, in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, II, 1898, pp. 137-185.

The outcome of a case that was brought before the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in September, 1801, marked one of the last stages in the emancipation of slaves in the province. Thus about thirty years after the Somerset case in England, court action in Nova Scotia produced similar results.

A slave named Jack had run away from James Delancey, of Round Hill, Annapolis County, and after a short period of service with John Umlah, at St. Margaret's Bay, went to Halifax, where he eventually obtained employment for wages with William Woodin. A demand was made by Thomas Ritchie, on behalf of Delancey, for the wages of the slave; and, in the event of non-payment of the wages and the detention of the Negro, it was stated that an action would be entered against Woodin. Woodin's attorney declared that the employer was ignorant of the social condition of the Negro, refused the payment of wages, none of which were then due, and informed Delancey that he might have the Negro whenever he should think proper to send for him. But he also asserted that Jack and all other Negroes in Nova Scotia were freemen, since there was no Nova Scotia law providing otherwise. Subsequently an action of trover was brought for the Negro; Delancey obtained a verdict in his favor with £70 damages; but the counsel for the defendant, Richard J. Uniacke, moved the court to arrest judgment, urging that an action of trover would not lie for the conversion of a Negro in this province, as here he could no more be the slave of Delancey than of any other person in London or elsewhere. The hearing of this motion was fixed for the following September.

In the interval, Delancey had an opinion prepared by Joseph Aplin, of Annapolis County, a Loyalist who had been attorney-general of Prince Edward Island. Mr. Aplin contended against the allegation that slavery had never been established in Nova Scotia by law, that neither had there been any local code creative of any such state of slavery in Antigua, Virginia or New York, and that the same was true of several of the more northerly colonies, particularly Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Aplin also pointed out that slaves were specifically referred to in "An Act for the regulating Innholders, Tavern-keepers, and Retailers of Spirituous Liquors" (1762, Cap. I).[21] In addition, he contended that the English Acts which made Negroes in the West Indies the personal property of their masters made Negroes such here; and the English legal authorities who were consulted found this inference "quite irresistible and unanswerable." Nor did Aplin omit emphasizing the facts that "Negroes, even in this province, have always been allowed to pass by will, as personal estate; . . . have uniformly been sold here under execution; and . . . are and always have been sold, in the common course of traffic, as other chattel

21. The Statutes of Nova Scotia.

interests are or were sold, and warranted by the bill of sale to be the property of the seller."

In 1803, at the September term of the Supreme Court at Annapolis Royal, William Woodin was summoned to appear to answer to James Delancey on a plea of trespass, in the sum of £500 for damages. No information is available on the issue of the plea for damages; but it is clear that Delancey failed to regain possession of his former slave.

After this case, the opinion prevailed that the courts would not recognize a state of slavery as having a lawful existence in Nova Scotia. Indeed, the statement is attributed to John George Marshall that a judgment was passed in the province distinctly condemnatory of slavery; but the precise year of that alleged decision is not known. It has been stated, however, that the case dealt with a slave who left the service of his master and went to Halifax. The master followed him there and was about to take him back to Shelburne, when application was made on the Negro's behalf to Mr. (afterwards Judge) Wilkins, who obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, under which both master and slave were taken before Chief Justice Blowers. After arguments relating to this case, as well as to slavery in general, had been considered, Chief Justice Blowers is reported to have "legally and righteously decided that this province was not debased with that cruel and abominable slave system which John Wesley appropriately characterized as the 'sum of all villainies'." On the other hand, T. C. Haliburton stated that "Although this question never received a judicial decision the slaves were all emancipated."[22]

But the slave proprietors did not permit the matter to go by default. They made a final effort for relief by legislative action in 1807-08. In December, 1807, they prepared a petition which was forwarded to the House of Assembly. In that petition,[23] dated December 3rd, 1807, County of Annapolis, and signed by 28 proprietors who claimed ownership of 82 Negro "servants," it is stated that "owing to certain doubts now entertained by the King's Courts of Law in this Province, such property is rendered wholly untenable by Your Petitioners, whose Negro Servants are daily leaving their service and setting Your Petitioners at defiance. For, if it be no longer incumbent upon the Negro who claims his liberty within a Colony, to produce the Certificate of his emancipation; or to shew that he was born of free parents—or, at the least, to prove that at some former period of his life he exercised the rights of a free person, it is in vain that his possessor attempts to litigate with him . . ." These petitioners asked that such regulations be made as shall be deemed expedient for securing their property in their Negro servants; or that, "if such pro-

22. T. C. Haliburton, vol. II, p. 280.

23. P.A.N.S., Assembly Papers, Folder, vol. XIV, 1807-08.

perty is to be sacrificed to the public good, Your Petitioners may, from that public, receive their equitable compensation." On January 9th, 1808, Mr. John Warwick, representative for the township of Digby, presented this petition and moved that it should be received. On the same date, Mr. Thomas Ritchie, representative for Annapolis County, presented a bill for "regulating Negro Servants within and throughout this Province." By the terms of this bill, "all Negroes within this province whether male or female, between the respective ages of twenty-one and thirty, and whose Masters or Mistresses have a claim to their services for life" were to serve for a term of four years, after which they were to be freed, and their masters or mistresses were to receive compensation for each Negro from the Provincial treasury. For other age groups, similar action was to be taken but the terms of service were to vary. Those between 30 and 40 were to serve for three years; those who had already reached 40 years in age might be freed immediately; those under 21 were to serve until they attained the age of 25; and all born after the publication of the proposed bill were to serve until they reached 21. Whenever freedom was achieved by a Negro, compensation was to be provided for the master or mistress.[24] These proposals were clearly in line with the objectives of the petition of the Slave proprietors. The bill in which they were embodied was read a second time on January 11th, 1808, but it never became law.[25] The Committee of the whole House reported, on January 12th, 1808, that they had deferred the consideration of this bill to that day three months.[26] Thus ended what was probably the last attempt to buttress a system which merited only extinction.

24. P.A.N.S., Unpassed Bills, 1808.
25. Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 271; F. W. Harris, p. 18
26. Journal of the House of Assembly

II

THE REFUGEE BLACKS OF THE WAR OF 1812

The last vestiges of slavery in Nova Scotia had therefore received their quietus before the next large group of Negroes arrived in Nova Scotia during and immediately after the War of 1812. During that struggle, as had similarly happened in the American Revolutionary War, many slaves struck a blow for freedom by seeking refuge within the British lines, or by fleeing to the British warships. In the former struggle, they were encouraged to this end by proclamations issued from time to time, offering freedom to all Negroes who should take refuge within the British lines.[27] And during the War of 1812, a proclamation of Vice-Admiral Cochrane produced a like effect. Other Negroes were carried off by force, for to deprive the enemy of the services of their slaves was a means of weakening enemy resistance and therefore a desired objective.

One result was that about 2,000 Negroes arrived in Nova Scotia between 1813 and 1816. It was not difficult for Negro slaves to escape from their former masters during this war.[28] At that time, British naval forces occupied many bays and rivers in the United States, and debarked troops who established posts along the coast near which there was a large slave population. In time these troops received many Negroes as voluntary fugitives. Others were induced to leave their masters. And a number were forced by marines and sailors to depart from those territories.[29] A number of the slaves were, undoubtedly, attracted by Vice-Admiral Cochrane's proclamation of April 2nd, 1814:

> "Whereas it has been represented to me that many persons now resident in the United States have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view to entering into His Majesty's service, or of being received as Free Settlers in some of His Majesty's Colonies,—
> This is therefore to give notice
> That all those who may be disposed to emigrate from the United States will, with their families, be received on board his Majesty's ships or vessels of war, or at the military posts that may be established upon or near the coast of the United States, where they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land forces, or of being sent as Free Settlers to the British possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.
> Given under my hand at Bermuda this 2d day of April, 1814.
> By command of the Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane."[30]

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27. Frederic Austin Ogg, "Jay's Treaty and the Slavery Interests of the United States," in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1901, vol. I, pp. 275-298.
28. James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, (1909), vol. I, pp. 344-5; John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party*, (Washington, 1898), vol. I, pp. 350-1.
29. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 6-9, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 29, 1816.
30. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp. 97-8, Vice-Admiral Alexander Cochrane to Sherbrooke, October 5, 1814; John Bassett Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party*, (Washington, 1898), vol. I, pp. 350-1. See also William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*—Canadian Relations 1784-1860, (Washington, 1940), vol. I, pp. 647-652, John Quincy Adams to James Monroe, Ghent, September 5, 1814.

The meaning and object of this proclamation were clear, although it was not addressed *eo nomine* to slaves. It was widely distributed and had the effect of "attracting a considerable number of slaves, some of whom were transported to the Bahamas or other British possessions, while many remained with His Majesty's sea and land forces at their stations and posts in the United States. This was especially the case in the Chesapeake Bay and at Cumberland Island in Georgia."[30]

It has been estimated that from 1700 to 2000 Negroes came to Nova Scotia at this time.[31] This estimated number, moreover, may be tested in the light of the records which are available of many of the arrivals, as well as of returns of the Negroes in the province, and also of other evidence.

Available records disclose that 133 Negroes arrived at Halifax in six of H.M. Ships of war in September, 1813, and that others arrived in the same year in at least one other ship of war.[32]

In 1814, at least several hundred Refugee Negroes reached Halifax. Some of these arrived in *HMS Arab* in May;[33] others arrived in a transport, the *Lord Collingwood*, in July; and "a *few* hundred Negroes (dead and alive)" arrived on September 1st.[34] On October 7, 1814, moreover, Sherbrooke wrote to Vice-Admiral Cochrane that a shipload of Negroes had been landed without any communication having been made to the Secretary's Office or anywhere else on the subject.[35]

The largest number of Negroes to arrive at Halifax in any single year of this period were landed in 1815. There are available records of the arrival of nearly 900 in that year. (On March 15th, 62 Refugee Blacks left Amelia Island in the *Erebus* and reached Halifax at the end of the month [36]; between April 27, 1815, and July 27, 1815, 727 were landed at the same port[37]; between July 27, 1815 and October 26, 1815, 79[38];

30. *Ibia.*

31. James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, vol. I, pp. 344-5; J. S. Martell, *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838, Public Archives of Nova Scotia Publication No. 6, 1942, p. 37.

32. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 1-8: 7 Refugee Negroes arrived in *HMS Rifleman*, by September 28, 1813; 43 in *HMS Marlborough*; 20 in *HMS Junon*; 6 in *HMS Mariner*; 5 in *HMS Fox*; and 52 in *HMS Diomede*. In the *Acadian Recorder*, of September 18, 1813, it is stated (p. 3) that on Tuesday, Sept. 14th, the following vessels, under the command of Admiral the Rt. Hon. Sir J. B Warren, and H. Hotham, Captain of the Fleet, arrived at Halifax, 8 days from the Chesapeake: *San Domingo, Junon, Diadem, Diomede, Romulus, Success, Nemesis, Fox, Loup Cervier, Mariner* and *Highflyer* (schooner).

See also Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 345 for a reference to the arrival of these ships.

There is evidence in P.A.N.S. Land Papers (petition of Jesse Read, August 6, 1818) about the arrival of *HMS Albion* with Refugee Negroes in 1813 but the number of Refugees is not known.

See also P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp 66-7, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, October 18, 1813—. . . "HM Ships which have recently arrived here from the Coast of the United States have brot. a number of Black People of difft. ages and both sexes . . ."

33. P.A.N.S. vol. 111 p. 83, Sherbrooke to Captain June *HMS Arab* May 17, 1814.

34. *Acadian Recorder*, September 3, 1814, page 3, col. 3—"Thursday, Sept. 1—arr. H.M. brig *Jaseur*, Capt Watt, 10 days from the Chesapeake; also, a Transport, with a *few* hundred Negroes (dead and alive); . . . "See also Beamish Murdoch, *A Historyof Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 369—"On the 1 September, H. M. brig *Jaseur*, captain Watt, and a transport, arrived at Halifax, in ten days from Chesapeake bay, bringing several hundred negroes."

35. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp. 112-114; and P.A.N.S., vol. 227, doc. 32.

36. *Acadian Recorder*, April 1, 1815, p. 3, c. 2; *The Weekly Chronicle*, March 31, 1815, p. 3, c. 3.

37. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 41.

38. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 63.

and between October 27, 1815, and January 26, 1816, 13 were landed in Halifax.[39] *HMS Brune* arrived at Halifax, seven days from Bermuda, with 200 Blacks, on Friday, April 28, 1815;[40] *HMS Ceylon* arrived, six days from Bermuda, on Wednesday, May 10th, with 250 Blacks, and a ship was to sail a few days later for Annapolis Royal, with a number of others[41]; others arrived at Halifax in *HMS Nymph*, *Borer*, *Espoir*, *Coromandel* and *Narcissus*).[42] There are, besides, a number of general references to the influx of Negroes in 1815. In an address of the House of Assembly to the Lieutenant-Governor of April 1, 1815, for example, one may read of "the frequent arrival in this Province of Bodies of Negroes, and Mulattoes . . .[43] Vice Admiral Cochrane, Naval Commander-in-Chief upon the American Station, informed the Lieutenant-Governor early in the year of "the probability that in a short time 1500 or 2000 Black refugees from the United States (would) arrive in this province . . ."[44] And Lawrence Hartshorne, in a letter of April 14, 1815, to Rupert D. George, referred to a notice from the Secretary's Office in the last *Gazette* that "a number of Families of Black People might shortly be expected to arrive here . . ."[45]

Early in1815 arrangements were made to send 400 or 500 of the Negroes from Nova Scotia to New Brunswick. In April, 1815, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia informed the President of New Brunswick of the arrival of a large number of Negroes, and asked him to provide for some of them. The Council of New Brunswick considered the matter, and agreed to receive the Negroes. About 400 of them reached New Brunswick in May.[46] Many of them received grants of land, 50 acres with a frontage of 20 rods being granted to each. The settlement at Loch Lomond was founded by these Negroes.

There is also evidence of the arrival in Nova Scotia of a number of Negroes from the south in 1816. Between January 27th and April 26th, at least four Refugee Negroes landed at Halifax.[47] In August, 1816, moreover, 36 passengers arrived in the brig *Ceres*, from Charleston and Wilmington.[48] On August 23rd, the Health Officer reported that the people in the *Ceres*, then lying below George's Island, were healthy. During the voyage one man had died of dropsy.

These Refugee Negroes in Nova Scotia numbered 1,619 on December 30, 1816, according to the return made by Richard Inglis. 924 of these

39. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 126 and doc. 129.
40. *Acadian Recorder*, April 29, 1815, p. 3, c. 2.
41. *Acadian Recorder*, May 13, 1815, p. 3, c. 3.
42. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 13, 49 and 65.
43. Journal of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, p. 107; P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 3.
44. Council Minutes, April 5, 1815; P.A.N.S., vol. 214, pp. 585-6.
45. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 11.
46. James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, vol. I, pp. 344-5.
47. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, docs. 60 and 62.
48. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 58 and 59. Cf. *Acadian Recorder*, August 24, 1816, p. 3, c. 3.

people were then settled at Preston; 504 at Hammond's Plains; 76 at Refugee Hill; and 115 in the town of Halifax.[49] If to the number of 1,619 were added the number of those who had been sent to New Brunswick, the total would be a little more than 2,000.

The establishment of so many Negroes in the province presented a number of problems. For the newcomers it meant a change to a more northerly climate, and to conditions of life different from those to which these former slaves had been accustomed. At the outset, food, shelter, clothing, medical care and employment were important considerations. Then, too, there was the matter of jurisdiction and organization. What was to be the role of the Imperial government in the establishment of these Negroes in Nova Scotia? And what was to be required of the local authorities and provincial population? Who was to direct and superintend the whole affair?

Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke considered that the first arrivals would easily find employment and "be able to maintain themselves comfortably by their Labor." On October 18, 1813, he wrote to the Earl of Bathurst to inform him of the landing in Halifax of a number of Black people who had come from the coast of the United States in His Majesty's ships. The captains of the fleet requested permission to land these people; and the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that a list of their names should be taken and that the oath of allegiance should be administered to them. Then he authorized "them to go into the interior of the Province in search of employment."[50] He also referred to the probability "that in the course of the Winter greater numbers (would) arrive, when the inclemency of the season, & difficulty to procure employment (might) occasion temporary distress." "In such case," he wrote, "as there is no fund placed at my disposal to enable me to extend any relief to these poor wretches however great their distress may be, I beg Your Lordship will inform me whether the Bounty of the British Government can be extended towards them in any way either by giving them clothing or an allowance of Rations of Provisions for a short period."

Reception of First Refugees

On the arrival of the Negroes from the southward during the summer of 1814, Rear Admiral Griffith notified the Lieutenant-Governor of the circumstances, and furnished him with an account of their numbers. Their names were then entered on a roll at the Secretary's Office "in order that they might be disposed of in the best manner that circumstances would admit of." After the lists of the Negroes were received by the Lieutenant-

49. *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838—Publication No. 6, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1942, p. 37.

50. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp. 66-7; Sherbrooke to Bathurst, October 18, 1813.

Governor, the Negroes were directed to appear either at the Secretary's Office, or at the Court House, where the oaths of allegiance were administered. Then they might go in search of employment, and become permanent settlers in the province.[51] During the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor and Rear Admiral Griffith, however, one shipload of Negroes was landed at Halifax in 1814, "without any communication having been made to the Secretary's Office or any where else on the subject." Several of these died shortly afterwards, and "others are represented to have conducted themselves in a most disorderly manner from the usual explanatory admonition given to them having been omitted."

Commissioners of the Poor Directed to Administer Relief

By October 1, 1814, some of these Negroes were in distress. They required food, clothing and medical assistance. Their situation was such that on that date the Commissioners of the Poor at Halifax notified the Lieutenant-Governor that they were "in a deplorable state of distress and unable to gain their Subsistence." On October 5, 1814, Vice Admiral Cochrane also considered it his duty to inform the Lieutenant-Governor "that some of the Negroe (sic) families that were lately brought from Virginia are in the greatest misery and destitute of clothing, food and shelter;" and that Lord Bathurst had informed him that orders would be sent to Halifax and to Trinidad "to furnish the Refugees from the United States with the necessaries they might require until they could provide for themselves." Cochrane was of opinion that those necessaries comprised food, clothing and a place to shelter them from the weather, and that they were to be admitted as settlers in the colonies. In consequence (he wrote), of this assurance, he issued the proclamation (of April 2, 1814) "which has induced them to come over."[52] He expressed the hope that the Lieutenant-Governor would find it in his power to relieve the present distresses of the Negroes, "and the want of every necessary to carry them thro the winter."

In the meantime, the Lieutenant-Governor had considered the matter and reached a decision. He gave "immediate directions that all who required Medical Aid or were by Age or Infirmities unable to earn a comfortable subsistance should be reed into the Poor House in Halifax, and supplied with a Daily Allowance of Provisions (in three classes) the men to receive the same allowance as the wives and children of Soldiers respectively receive." A return was to be delivered to the Deputy Commissary General every Wednesday morning of the number to be so victualled for the succeed-

51. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, p. 83, Sherbrooke to Captain June, *HMS Arab*, May 17, 1814; p. 93, Sherbrooke to Rear Admiral E. Griffith, July 10, 1814; pp. 112-114, Sherbrooke to Vice Admiral Sir Alex. Cochrane, October 7, 1814. Also P.A.N.S., vol. 227, doc. 32.

52. P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp. 97-8, Cochrane to Sherbrooke, October 5, 1814; and P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 10.

ing week; and this return was to be signed by two of the Commissioners of the Poor. The Provisions were to be issued at the Stores every Thursday, and the Commissioners of the Poor were to provide the means of conveying them to the Poor House. "In thus extending the King's Bounty to these unfortunate People His Excellency (felt) confident that the Commissioners of the Poor (would) take the necessary precautions to prevent this Indulgence being abused and that none of the Blacks lately arrived (would) be admitted into the Poor House except such as by age or infirmity are rendered incapable of gaining their own Livelyhood (sic)." Those who were sick and incapable of labour would be provided for in this manner, until the pleasure of the British Government should be signified on this subject, or until the next meeting of the Provincial Legislature. Sherbrooke also assured Cochrane "that every thing within the compass of my power shall be done to alleviate their Distress, and render their situation comfortable." He also declared "that the healthy and industrious will meet with ample encouragement in the high wages which they can obtain for their Labor in any part of the Province. A Day Labourer can readily obtain from 5/ to 7/6 per Day at this time in Halifax, and have constant Employment."[53]

Smallpox

An epidemic of smallpox made matters worse. On October 10, 1814, William Sabatier laid before the Halifax County Quarter Sessions "a Letter from Mr. Seth Coleman[54] relative to the distressed situation of the Inhabitants of Dartmouth in consequence of the Small pox (sic) having spread among a number of blacks from the Chesapeake." The Court considered the matter, and resolved that "the Letter be laid before His Excellency by a Committee of the Magistrates." The Lieutenant-Governor then requested a report from a physician concerning the spread of this disease at Dartmouth. William Bruce Almon attended the Court on October 11th and stated "that a number of black persons have been lately landed at Halifax from divers Men of War arrived from Chesapeake Bay in the United States of America; who are now residing in the Township of Dartmouth in the said County; and the Small pox is spreading among them, and by reason of their poverty they are unable to procure the necessary attendance and comforts, and that the inspection of such contagious distemper is likely to be communicated among themselves and to other of the Inhabitants of the said Township, and there being no resident Physician in the same,

53. P.A.N.S., vol. 141, p. 27, H. H. Cogswell to J. G. Pyke, James Foreman and Crofton Uniacke, October 3, 1814, acknowledged receipt of the communication from the Commissioners of the Poor, and outlined the Lieutenant Governor's decision. Also P.A.N.S., vol. 111, pp. 101-103, Sherbrooke to Cochrane, October 5, 1814.

54. Mr. Coleman was one of the Nantucketers who came to Nova Scotia to engage in the whale fishery, and was one of a very few of them who remained in the province. He was one of the "Friends" commonly called Quakers.

the said William Bruce Almon therefore recommends to the Court that medical and other comforts be provided for them who are already infected and that vaccination should be administered to others by way of prevention and that Mr. Seth Coleman a competent person be requested to attend to their relief."[55] The result was that the Lieutenant-Governor authorized Mr. Coleman to vaccinate all poor persons requesting it at Dartmouth and the adjacent township of Preston. It was suggested by William Sabatier to Coleman that it might be best to call all the Blacks to Dartmouth for the purpose, but Coleman reported that he found it necessary to go to them. In order to prevent the rapid spread of the disease, he also found it necessary to devote his time on Sundays as well as week days to vaccinating and attending the Negroes. For on Sundays the Negroes were in the habit of visiting one another, and "Numbers came from Halifax for that purpose;" and the disease was then making its appearance "on the main Roads to Preston, and Cole Harbor, as it also did soon after in Dartmouth.[56] "Mr. Coleman vaccinated as many as 40 on a Sunday, and seldom more than from 5 to 8 per week day". By February 6, 1815, he stated that he had "now the satisfaction to announce a total stop to the fatal Disease on this side the water." He had had 14 cases of the smallpox, and 6 of those had died. The large proportion of fatalities in this number of cases he attributed to the facts that several of the sick were elderly people, living quarters were cramped, "and nurses of the most indifferent kind." Of the 423 people vaccinated by him, 79 were white people of Dartmouth and Preston, 59 were Indians and 285 were Blacks. He calculated that about 40 of the Indians were "strangers" and about one-quarter, if not one-third, of the Blacks were from Halifax and its vicinity.

Meantime, many who were ill or unable to provide for themselves were accommodated in the Halifax Poor House. Between September 2, 1814, and March 2, 1815, there was an average daily number of 55 Blacks in that institution, and of these about 20 were on the sick list daily. Dr. Almon furnished medical supplies and attended the sick inmates. During the same period, 74 coffins were provided for the Blacks who died "in the Town and Poor House."

Accounts of March 2, 1815, revealed an expenditure of £354/8/7 on behalf of the Blacks. Meantime, on February 18, 1815, Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke presented to the Assembly Coleman's accounts and papers relating to the attempts to curb disease, and recommended the members to grant "such sums as may be sufficient to discharge the expence which has already been incurred, or may still be necessary to prevent the Spreading of that fatal contagion, together with a reasonable compensation to

55. P.A.N.S., Halifax County Quarter Sessions Records, October 10 and 11, 1814.
56. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 5, Seth Coleman to William Sabatier, February 6, 1815.

Mr. Coleman for his services."[57] He declared that Mr. Coleman's efforts had been successful, and that upwards of four hundred persons had received the benefit of his services, with such medicines and other articles as their necessities required.

The Views of the Assembly

Early in 1815 the attention of the Assembly was drawn to the problems involved in the establishment of the Refugee Negroes in Nova Scotia. A message from the Governor on February 24th dealt with this subject. It was as follows:

> During the recess of the General Assembly, many families, principally people of colour, have arrived in this Province from the United States of America. They have fled from the calamities of War, and the misery which they were suffering in their native Country, to seek an asylum under the protection of the British Government, and have indulged the hope that they will be admitted as free settlers in this Province. A great proportion of these people, active, healthy, and enured to labour, have gone to the interior of the Province, affording, I trust, a large accession of useful labour to the agriculture of the Country. But there are some instances of decrepid (sic) age, helpless infancy, and unavoidable sickness, which require relief; considering the manner in which they left their native Country, this was naturally to be expected, and I have the satisfaction to add, that public assistance and private charity have hitherto been extended to these people in proportion to their wants; but they appear to be more properly the objects of Provincial care: I therefore recommend this subject to your consideration, and request that you will make provision for the assistance of the distressed among these people, and to facilitate the settlement of the residue upon the forest lands of the Province.[58]

After taking this message into consideration, the Assembly decided to obtain further information about these Negroes. On February 27, 1815, the House of Assembly approved the following: "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Commissioners of the Poor of Halifax, should be desired to cause an exact account to be taken for the information of the House, of the number of Blacks recently from the United States of America, who are now in the Town of Halifax, and its Environs, with the particular state of each family, as to age, sex, occupation, &c. and that this House will pay the expence of such information." On March 7, 1815, the Clerk delivered to the House the returns received from the Commissioners of the Poor at Halifax pursuant to this resolution.

These returns[59] disclosed that 705 Refugee Negroes were then resident in Halifax, on the Windsor Road, at Dartmouth and Preston, and at Rufus Fairbanks' estate at Porter's Lake. The number in Halifax was 336; on

57. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 12; P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 32, Sherbrooke to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, February 18, 1815. Also Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, p. 369. For Dr. Almon's account for attendance on and medicines for the sick Refugee Blacks in the Poor House see Journal of the Assembly, February 29, 1816, and March 18 and 19, 1816.

58. Journal of the Assembly; also P.A.N.S., vol. 288, doc. 101.

59. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, docs. 5, 6, 7, 18.

the Windsor Road 72; at Preston 150; Dartmouth 71; South East Passage and Cow Bay 49; Porter's Lake 27.

(By March 1815, therefore, 705 Refugee Negroes had arrived in Nova Scotia; during the remainder of that year 881 more reached the province; and in 1816 at least 40 others arrived. These figures make a total number of 1626. And about 400 others were sent into New Brunswick.)

From these returns the members of the Assembly learned additional information. Of the 336 Refugee Negroes in Halifax, 131 were men without families; 48 were men with families; 56 were women with families; 45 were boys and girls, from 8 to 13 years old, in families in different parts of the town; and 56 were children with their parents. Seth Coleman furnished some data about those in Preston, Dartmouth, South East Passage and Cow Bay, and also about those at Porter's Lake. Those at the last mentioned place were employed in cutting wood; while the others, he stated, were generally of no particular occupation, except common labourers, and most of them were in want of assistance, but from 15 to 20 single men were out at service. For a month or six weeks, Coleman had contributed out of his own supplies to the sick and infirm in his neighbourhood, but not to those in health excepting "the destitute Widow, who was in immediate distress." The wants of those in health had not become general "until now" (March 5, 1815) "as, for the most part," they had found some employment in cutting wood; but "at present" their services in that respect were nearly at an end. He referred to a robbery committed by two of those people at Cole Harbour, "perhaps prompd. by Necessity." From his "general knowledge and observations on them on this Side the water, he (did not) consider them much disposed to those Evils," although there are many Complaints (sic) in Halifax." There are, he stated, "many more Complaints, in our Country Neighbourhood, of their becoming a heavy tax by their Beging (sic), than that of their Stealing—I have no doubt, but if Goverment (sic) would afford a little assistance untill (sic) the Spring opens, and Imployment (sic) to be had, that they will be enabled, when in Health, to make ample provision for themselves and Families."[60]

When Rufus Fairbanks "perceived by the Report that was made yesterday (March 7th, 1815) respecting the Blacks, that it was stated that (he) had twenty seven employed at Porters Lake cutting wood, and heard it remarked that they would want no assistance," he prepared a statement for the consideration of the House. He was, he said, fully convinced that the person who had made that report "intended to wink out of sight the expences (he) had been at for their support." Fairbanks' statement was as follows:

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60. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, docs. 5, 6, 7 and 18; vol. 420, doc. 132.

"The Blacks I have at the Lake consist of Six Families, viz, Six Men, Six Women and fifteen Children—James Wallace and his wife are from their own account & by their looks betwixt eighty and ninety years of age, the other five middle aged, the eldest child there is about nine years old the youngest six months their elder Children having been left in Halifax as they could find places on their first arrival.

"I first agreed with two of the men to cut wood for me their families then being in the Poor House where I supposed they would remain for the winter—Just as they were embarking for the Lake the wife of one of the men came to me with four children the eldest about six years of age the youngest in Arms all in the extreme of poverty, with scarcely a Dud to cover them by Day or Night, sick and ematiated (sic) to that degree they could scarcely stand on their feet in that situation the Woman beged (sic) I would permit her to go with her Husband saying she had much rather go into the woods and perish with her Husband than to be left in the Poor House with her Children to be devoured by Vermin and die there which she was sure would soon be their fate—under those circumstances I allowed them to go . . .

"I have not given the above report to blazon my humanity or to expose my folly tho some have been kind enough to insinuate it has been done with a view to private Emolument I have given it to shew that I have done what I conceive every man in the Community ought to do according to their abilities when public burthens may be alleviated . . ."[61]

The circumstances and prospects of the Black people in Preston and Cole Harbour were also more fully described in Seth Coleman's letter to William Sabatier on March 23, 1815, and in Sabatier's letter to Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke on the same date. Coleman had visited the habitations of those Negroes, and had "found many of them subsisting on what we should think literally nothing." He found, he said, "a disposition in them to labour, and to help themselves, but the fact is they have nothing to do." Only four of the men with families then had employment, "others were making of Brooms or taking care of the Family, while the Mother was out to seek a days work at Washing or Scouring on this scanty pittance depended the subsistance of perhaps themselves, and four or five Children." To those who said harsh things about these people, Coleman declared "that Considering their Ignorance I think them a Virtuous People, when in a former report I mentioned meeting them on the Sabbath, it would of been but justice to have added that I never found them in a rude or riotous assemblage, nor to my recollection did I ever see one of them intoxicated!" Coleman was, he declared, "advocating a cause that (he was) persuaded (had) been wrongly represented . . ." Of the sick, he reported that the number was reduced "from 15 to 20 to 12 or 14, and it is with singular satisfaction I have to state that not exceeding four natural Deaths (exclusive of the Small pox) have occurd among them, and two of them were children that were not reported to me in season, consequently had it not in my power to relieve them." Since February 8, 1815, he had attended the

61. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 22, R. Fairbanks' letter of March 8, 1815.

sick and administered as sparingly as possible to their necessities. He had supplied rice and molasses to them, and a little meat and a few fish to the convalescent. Of the supplies that he had furnished to them, nothing apeared as satisfactory as Indian Meal and Molasses. If the Governor should be pleased to afford these people "some Relief at this pinching season," Coleman stated that "Meal can be had at our mill in Dartmouth, or any other supplys he would bestow will be most greatfully (sic) received by some of those suffering people." After reading this letter, Sabatier discussed the whole matter with Coleman, and then prepared a statement which he forwarded, with Coleman's letter, to the Lieutenant-Governor. He concluded that three fourths of the original number of Blacks reported by Coleman, that is, about 180 or 200 persons of all ages and of both sexes, would require partial assistance "until the season opens,—and some of them longer." If regular rations were given, it was thought that the expenditure would be "very much too great." But if a little molasses and Indian meal were given by Coleman "as a personal favor to those who are really in need," they would be satisfied and the others would be induced to exertion. He estimated that the necessary supplies would at the outset cost about £27 per week. Sabatier also conferred with Coleman relative to their removal to the Halifax Poor House. Coleman thought that such a removal would be utterly impracticable and certainly more expensive. He considered that it would be "very injurious to them in several respects —but above all that they would, thereby, become idle, at the present, and indifferent about seeking employment, when the weather favord their exertions abroad."[62]

The Lieutenant-Governor approved of these recommendations for the relief of the Negroes in Preston and Cole Harbour. "If Mr. Sabatier will procure the 12 Gallons Molasses & One Barrel of Indian Meal as He proposes I will order the Cost (£27.0.0) as specified in his letter to be paid— Mr. Coleman will distribute these Molasses & Meal with Economy & Care."[62]

Meantime the House of Assembly had referred the Lieutenant-Governor's message, of February 18, 1815, to the Committee of Supply on February 20, 1815, and action was taken. The sum of £500 was to be granted and placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor "to be by him applied in such manner as his Excellency shall deem most effectual to prevent the spreading of the Small Pox, by promoting Vaccination throughout the Province." To the Committee who waited on him and presented him with this resolution, the Lieutenant Governor expressed his approbation of the grant and his intention to carry their wishes into effect.[63]

62. P.A.N.S., Folder of Assembly Papers, vol. XXII, 1815.
63. Journal of the Assembly, February 22 and 23, 1815.

The members of the Assembly thus showed their readiness to ameliorate the lot of the Refugee Negroes, by voting money for the prevention of Smallpox, but they viewed with much concern the problems resulting from the inflow of large numbers of those people. They had also considered the Lieutenant-Governor's message of February 24th, when he declared that the wants of those people were more properly objects of Provincial care than of the public assistance and private charity which had previously been extended, and when he also requested that the Assembly should facilitate the settlement of the Negroes on the forest lands of the province. To aid them in reaching a decision on these matters, the members of the Assembly had obtained as much information as possible about the Refugees and their circumstances. The results of their deliberations were embodied in an Address of the House to the Lieutenant-Governor, on April 1, 1815.[64] In that Address they stated that they "observe with concern and alarm, the frequent arrival in this Province of Bodies of Negroes, and Mulattoes, of whom many have become burthensome to the Public." "In compliance with your Excellency's humane recommendation, a sum of money is, by this Assembly, placed at your Excellency's disposal, for their temporary relief." They were of opinion that these people had been cast upon this Province by unforeseen events but they expressed to his Excellency for the information of such of his Majesty's Officers as they had not the means of communicating with, that they were unwilling by any aid of theirs, "to encourage the bringing of Settlers to this Province whose character, principles and habits, (were) not previously ascertained." Nor were they unmindful of post-war developments in the province. For they suggested "that the proportion of Africans already in this country is productive of many inconveniences; and that the introduction of more must tend to the discouragement of white labourers and servants, as well as to the establishment of a separate and marked class of people, unfitted by nature to this climate, or to an association with the rest of his Majesty's Colonists." They asked the Lieutenant-Governor to use his endeavours to prohibit the bringing any more of these people into this colony, "by making such representations to his Majesty's Ministers, as to your Excellency may seem expedient." Two days later the Lieutenant-Governor replied that he would use his endeavours to carry the wishes of the House into effect, and would immediately open a correspondence with his Majesty's Ministers for that purpose. And by July 26, 1815, he had received the answer of the Earl of Bathurst, which was dated May 10, 1815.

The Earl of Bathurst's Reply and the Council's Decision

Bathurst's reply was considered by the Council in Halifax on July 26th. It dealt with the Address of the Assembly on the subject of the

64. Journal of the Assembly. Also P.A.N.S., vol. 305, doc. 3.

opening of the coal mines, as well as with that on the subject of the introduction and settlement of people of colour in the province. A pertinent extract from this letter is the following:

> "I have brought under the consideration of the Prince Regent the various addresses of the House of Assembly inclosed in your despatches No. 224 with respect to that in which they deprecate any further Introduction of colored Population into the Colony, His Royal Highness is happy that the termination of the war with the United States which has in itself effected the object which the Provincial Legislature had in view, has superceded (sic) the necessity of any more particular attention to their wishes. As far as regards the Free Negroes already landed in the Province I cannot suppose that the Difficulty of providing them with occupation in a Colony where the demand for Labour is necessarily great, can be of long duration. But if difficulties have hitherto existed a remedy will surely be found in those new sources of occupation which the opening of the coal mines is calculated to afford . . ."[65]

Despite the views of the Assembly, and the reply of Bathurst, hundreds of additional Negro Refugees were to arrive in Nova Scotia during the remainder of the year, as well as a small number in 1816, and arrangements had to be made for them. In fact, it was only very shortly after he had notified the House that he would endeavour to carry their wishes on this subject into effect that the Lieutenant Governor laid before the Council a letter from Vice Admiral Cochrane, the Commander-in Chief upon the American Station, "acquainting him with the probability that in a short time 1500 or 2000 Black refugees from the United States will arrive in this province and requesting that provision be made for their reception and accommodation."[66] On April 3, 1815, the House of Assembly had been prorogued;[67] now the Lieutenant-Governor sought advice from the Council. He wished to know "in what manner those who are sick, infirm and in want can be provided for in the province and in what manner those who are capable of maintaining themselves may be located upon land in the interior of the province." At the same time, he communicated to the Council an extract of a letter from the Earl of Bathurst, dated October 25, 1814, upon the subject of the Refugee Negroes. Then he added "that it appears that they might be placed in charge of the Collector of Customs to be maintained and provided for in the same manner as under the regulations now in force he is directed to provide for the maintainance (sic) and support of natives of Africa who may have been condemned as Prizes of War or Forfeiture to the Crown."[68] Also read in Council on the same date, were a copy of a letter[69] from Lord Castlereagh, dated April 10, 1808,

65. P.A.N.S., vol. 214, Council Minutes, July 26, 1815; also vol. 288, doc. 102.
66. P.A.N.S., vol. 214, Council Minutes, April 5, 1815. (Perhaps this date is slightly in error, for the preceding entry is of April 25th and the succeeding one of May 6th).
67. Journal of the Assembly.
68. P.A.N.S., vol. 214, Council Minutes, April 5, 1815.
69. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 9.

addressed to Sir George Prevost, and the Order-in-Council therein referred to respecting the manner in which slaves captured and adjudicated upon in the Vice Admiralty Court were to be disposed of and provided for under the direction of the Collector of H.M.'s Customs.

This was the beginning of the new organization that was now to be evolved for dealing with these refugees. Lord Castlereagh's letter and the Order-in Council of March 16, 1808, for carrying into effect the Act for Abolition of the Slave Trade (1807), furnished the pattern for this development. Its outline is clearly revealed in Lord Castlereagh's letter of April 10, 1808, to Sir George Prevost:

> "So soon as any Slaves shall be committed to his charge by any Decree of the Vice Admiralty Court, the Chief Officer of the Customs is to take measures immediately for receiving & providing for them, I am therefore to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure that you do adjust with the said Chief Officer, the expense per head per diem, at which such Slaves are to be maintained and what allowance should be made for necessaries and Cloathing (sic), and Contingencies for each until they shall be enlisted, or apprenticed, and the amount of the expenses attending this measure. You are hereby upon your approving the charges to be made by the said Chief Officer to charge One Guinea per head, above all other charges upon each Slave he shall receive and provide for as a remuneration for his trouble therein.
>
> "You will direct the Collector or Chief Officer of the Customs to bring in the Account of all the Expenses attending the new appointment, to be passed before you in Council every three months, and the said Accounts when approved in Council, together wth the Receipts of the Chief Officer of the Customs will be your discharge for the Bills you may draw for on this Service."
>
> "I am further to signify to you His Majesty's Command that you do take every care in your power that the said Chief Officer of the Customs do attend to the duties imposed upon him in this behalf with the utmost care and vigilance, in order that the benevolent purposes of the Act may be carried into execution in the most beneficial manner."

The Council's decision was in line with these communications and with the suggestion of the Lieutenant-Governor. They recommended "that the Collector of Customs may be directed to take charge of all such Black refugees as may hereafter arrive in this province and provide for them agreeably to the instruction, and advise the following notice to be inserted in a public newspaper of Halifax.[70]

The Collector of Customs and the Melville Island Establishment

Henceforth, a depot for the accommodation of the Refugee Blacks was to be established on Melville Island, under the care and management of the Hon. T. N. Jeffery, the Collector of Customs. And on May 1, 1815, an agreement was signed by Mr. Jeffery and Lewis de Molitor, a Halifax

70. This newspaper notice was not included with the Minutes. Council Minutes, April 5, 1815.

merchant, by the terms of which the latter was to supply the Negroes on Melville Island with provisions. De Molitor was to receive one shilling, current money, of England, for each and every Negro, man, woman or child, in health, and two shillings, "like money," for each sick Negro, per day. The rations to be provided for the Negroes in the depot were specifically laid down in the contract. For each and every man or male child above the age of 12, in health, the allowance for four days in the week was to be as follows: One pound of bread; half a pound of beef; one pound of potatoes; or one gill of pease; half a pound of Indian meal; one quart of spruce beer; and one third of an ounce of salt. For the other three days of the week, the allowance was to be as follows: Half a pound of pork; one pound of Indian meal; half a pint of molasses; half a pound of potatoes or half a gill of pease; one ounce of coffee; one quart of spruce beer; and one third of an ounce of salt. There were to be four types of diet for the sick. Those on the sick list on full diet were to receive at breakfast, one pint of coffee and one fourth of a pound of bread; at dinner, three fourths of a pound of meat, half a pound of bread, half a pound of potatoes and one quart of beer; at supper, one pint of coffee or rice gruel, and one quarter of a pound of bread. Those on half diet were to be allowed at breakfast, one pint of rice gruel, and one fourth of a pound of bread; at dinner, half a pound of meat, one pound of potatoes, one quarter of a pound of bread and one quart of beer; at supper, one pint of rice gruel and one quarter of a pound of bread. For those on low diet the ration was to be at breakfast, one pint of tea and two ounces of bread; at dinner, one quarter of a pound of meat, four ounces of bread and half a pound of potatoes; at supper, one pint of rice gruel. Those on spoon diet would receive at breakfast, one pint tea; at dinner, half a pound of bread made into Panada or pudding, or four ounces of sago, or one ounce arraroot (sic); at supper, one pint tea. For each and every woman and female child above the age of twelve years, the ration was to be two thirds of that for each man or male child over twelve years of age. For each child under twelve years, the allowance was to be directed by a person to be nominated by Mr. Jeffery. And the beef and vegetables were to be made into soup and issued at messes.[71]

The prison on Melville Island was used for this depot, and a hospital was established there for the sick. Between April 27, 1815, and July 26, 1815, De Molitor issued, according to the terms of his contract, 28,668 rations to the Negroes in health at Melville Island, and 3,989 to those in sickness.[72] His account for this period amounted to £2035/17/9¼. During the same time, William Anderson, surgeon, vaccinated more than 500 of the Negroes there.[73] And T. N. Jeffery's allowance for receiving and

71. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 17; also P.A.N.S., Folder on "Negroes."
72. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 22.
73. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 39.

providing for 727 Refugee Negroes landed at Halifax from the United States between April 27, 1815, and July 26, 1815, was £763/7/0.[74] His allowance was computed on the basis of one Guinea per head, as authorized in the Earl of Bathurst's letter to Sir John Sherbrooke, dated Octobed 25, 1814. In those three months, there were 76 Negroes at Melville Island during the few days of April; from 75 to 600 in the month of May; from 438 to 313 in June; and the numbers varied from 309 to 313 to 289, in July. In the three months, there were 82 deaths there.[75]

For the next quarter, the numbers provided for at Melville Island were somewhat smaller. 79 Refugee Negroes arrived from the United States in that period. During the last few days of July, the numbers in the Melville Island depot varied from 289 to 287; in the month of August, from 276 to 245; in September, from 239 to 222; and in October from 222 to 279 to 276. And the number of deaths for that quarter was 22. William Anderson and David Jearrard were the medical attendants. De Molitor's contract had been renewed to cover that period, although another man (George Thomson) had tendered at a fraction of a penny per head per day less. The Collector had informed the Council that De Molitor had "performed his late contract in a very satisfactory manner," and the Council were "of opinion that the small difference in the proposals of Mr. Thomson (was) not of sufficient importance to render it expedient to accept his proposals in preference to Mr. DeMolitor's." DeMolitor's account for the quarter included 19,808 rations for those in health, at 9d., and 3,146 for those in hospital, at 1/7.[76]

In the autumn of 1815, the supply of winter clothing and blankets, which had been sent from Britain in November, 1814 for the Negroes, reached Halifax. It had been dispatched from the Old Country to Bermuda, and was intended for 1,000 men, 500 women and 500 children.[77]

During the quarter ending on January 26, 1816, the 13 Refugee Negroes who were landed at Halifax from the United States in that period, were received into the Melville Island depot. So likewise were eight other Negroes, who were known to be in distress or sickness. These eight could not obtain the benefits of the Poor Laws because the Commissioners of the Poor refused to consider them as transient paupers. In this quarter, the numbers at the depot varied from 276 to 59, on January 1st, and to 64 on January 26, 1816. The numbers in hospital varied from 11 to 22. Between the 9th and the 23rd of November, there were three deaths at the depot On November 20, 1815, a return was made of those at Melville Island, with

74. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 41.
75. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 13.
76. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 63, 65; and 60, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and 73. Also vol. 214, Council Minutes, July 26, 1815.
77. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 21, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, November 10, 1815; also *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838, Publication No. 6, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942, p. 17.

a statement of the condition of their clothing. For this three months' period, DeMolitor issued 9,688 rations to those in health, at 9d. sterling, and David Jearrard issued 1,394 rations, at 10d. Army sterling per ration, to those in hospital on the island. Mr. DeMolitor was to have ceased supplying the Negroes in hospital on October 26, 1815, because Dr. Robb had undertaken to supply them from that date at a lower rate, and by the Lieutenant-Governor's appointment. And on November 18, 1815, the number of persons employed at the expense of the Government on the establishment at Melville Island was reduced to three. These were David Jearrard, surgeon, at 3/10 per diem; J. H. Noonan, clerk, at the rate of £200 sterling per annum (from December 17, 1815, at the rate of £100 sterling per annum);[78] and R. Hodges, keeper and steward, at 7/6 currency per diem.

It was reported in November, 1815, that a number of Negroes, who had been discharged at former periods, then resorted to the Island for shelter. They were then not borne on the books of the establishment, and consequently received no rations. A number of these, however, appeared to be "in a distressed situation."

On December 16, 1815, Lewis de Molitor again engaged to supply the Negroes at Melville Island for another three months.

Between January 27, 1816, and April 26, 1816, the four Negroes who were landed at Halifax in this period, and eleven others who were either in distress or in sickness, were accommodated at the Melville Island establishment.[79] In this quarter, the numbers at the depot varied from 62 to 67; those in hospital there from 7 to 15.

The numbers on the Island continued to lessen. By May 6, 1816, there were 11 men, 14 women and 15 children there, besides 10 (varying in ages from 21 to 50 years) in the Black Hospital at the establishment.[80] Between May 21 and May 27, 1816, 26 were daily victualled there, and 7 were in hospital.[81] At the end of that month eleven Negroes who had settled about three miles from Melville Island were being victualled by the contractor, and two others who had been refused admittance into the Poor House were also under the care of Mr. Hodges, the storekeeper at the depot.[82] Meantime, on May 10, 1816, Charles Morris, the Surveyor General, was notified by the Deputy Secretary that the Lieutenant-Governor had made arrangements to have all the Blacks who were in health removed from Melville Island to Preston.[83] And by the time of the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke in the following month, the depot on

78. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 126 and 127; also docs. 14, 15, 80, 82, 84, 85, 98, 105, 106 and 129.
79. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, docs. 60 and 64.
80. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 1.
81. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 64.
82. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 4.
83. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 70.

Melville Island appears to have been discontinued, and the system under the control of the Collector of Customs seems to have ceased. The Negroes who had been at the depot were "dispersed in the new settlements, or at work."[84]

Poor House Hospital

During the summer of 1816 a number of the Refugee Negroes were admitted into the Poor House Hospital in Halifax. Some of these had been in the Military Hospital; others had been in the hospital at Melville Island. Of five who were taken into the Poor House Hospital between May 29, 1816, and July 16, 1816, one died on August 27th. Two of the patients in the Poor House Hospital in August, 1816, had previously had treatment, one in the 62nd Regiment Hospital, the other in the hospital at Melville Island, for frozen feet.[85]

While the Melville Island establishment had been in operation, Mr. Jeffery's quarterly accounts had been examined by a Committee of the Council. On August 18, 1815, for example, the Hon. Michael Wallace, Charles Hill and Judge Hutchinson were appointed to go over the accounts "exhibited by the Collector of H.M.'s Customs of expenditure during the last months for the support and maintenance of the refugee Negroes and to Report upon the state of such accounts and the monies proper to be paid in discharge of the same, having respect to the Instructions of H.M.'s Government on that subject."[86] They were also to take into consideration and report what might "be further necessary to be done for the support of those who from age or infirmity are unable to provide for themselves, and what allowances may be proper to make for the permanent settlement of the Negroes on lands of their own."

Following the departure of Lieutenant-Governor Sherbrooke, Major-General George Stracey Smyth was administrator of the government until the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie on October 24, 1816.[87] The new Lieutenant-Governor soon took an interest in the affairs of the Refugee Negroes, to whom rations were issued in the various settlements after the closing of the Melville Island depot.

Settlements and Rations

Shortly after the arrival of the first of these refugees, some of them had obtained employment at various points in the vicinity of Halifax. And

84. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 1-5, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 2, 1816; also vol. 214, 1/2 Council Minutes, November 29, 1816; and vol. 421, doc. 34, T. N. Jeffery to H. Cogswell, July 30, 1816.

85. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 62, 63 and 66. In a letter to Hon. T. N. Jeffery of November 11, 1817, Dr. W. B. Almon wrote as follows: "When the Establishment at Melville Island was abandoned, the sick were transferred to the 62d Hospital, and from that shortly after to the Poor House, where many of them have been and are still victualled by Government, of course not Paupers upon the Poor House Establishment and as such entitled to my attendance & medicines . . ." P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 94.

86. P.A.N.S., vol. 214, Council Minutes, August 18, 1815.

87. Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia*, vol. 3, pp. 390-3.

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some had spent the winter of 1814-5 at Dartmouth, Preston, Cow Bay, South East Passage and Porter's Lake, and also on the Windsor Road and in Halifax.[88] Subsequently others either settled at these places or formed other communities.

On November 15, 1816, the Earl of Dalhousie forwarded a letter to the Council and asked "to be favoured with (their) advice as to what steps it (might) be proper to adopt in the circumstances under which the Refugee Negroes are now placed." He referred to the old system, under the control of the Collector of Customs, which had been discontinued. In his opinion "the question now is, shall it be renewed in the same system as formerly until June next, or is it more adviseable (sic) to frame a new system under Control of Military Officers." If the former should be considered better, he was confident that the Collector of the Customs might "be induced (indeed he offers most handsomely) to continue it." In the latter case, he would endeavour to select a superior officer to conduct all the duties necessary. He also desired to ascertain which of the Negroes were entitled to receive rations, clothing or assistance, "as there are great numbers wandering about without fixed abode, and daily claiming relief." He did not think that he could give such an assignment to any military officer.[89]

The members of the Council replied to the Lieutenant-Governor on November 29, 1816. They had not only considered his letter but had also obtained information from Theophilus Chamberlain, the issuing officer to the Black people at Preston, and Thomas Johnson, the issuer to those at Hammond's Plains. The Council agreed that a general muster should be made forthwith of the Black people entitled to receive rations. They were of opinion that the provisions allowed for the settlers at Preston and its neighbourhood, "where the greater numbers reside," should be stored at Dartmouth, and issued from thence as found convenient. Similarly, they recommended that those at Hammond's Plains should be allowed to receive their provisions through the agency of Mr. Johnson, "as they have heretofore done," and that those at Refugee Hill, Waterloo Farm on the Colchester Road, and at other places, be allowed to receive their rations at Halifax. The Council also thought that the Black people who had no fixed abode, or who were anywhere employed at wages, should not be allowed rations. And they urged that special precautions be taken in the case of absentees.[90]

Early in December, 1816, the Earl of Dalhousie communicated to the Earl of Bathurst a description of the circumstances in which he found the Refugee Negroes on his arrival. Their situation was, in his words, then as follows:

88. P.A.N.S., vol. 305, docs. 5, 6, 7 and 18.
89. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 36; also vol. 214 1/2, Council Minutes, November 29, 1816.
90. P.A.N.S., vol. 214 1/2, Council Minutes, November 29, 1816; and also vol. 421, doc. 37.

"On Sir John Sherbrooke leaving this the Depot at Melville Island was broke up, the Negroe families dispersed in the new Settlements, or at work. Rations had been ordered for those that settled on Lands granted them and the Accounts to be continued as before by the Collector of H. M. Customs in whose absence his appointed Deputy acted.

"M. General Smyth Administrator of the Government until my arrival, on 24 October, did not chuse to take any charge of these matters and in consequence I now find the Accounts two quarters in arrear.

"I find the Negroe families that settled, in a state of starvation, their crops having totally failed, their numbers much increased by those, who having first obtained day labour, now have joined the Settlers unable to get any work to give them bread.

"I have submitted both cases to H.M. Council & having the sanction of that (sic) advice, I have desired the accounts of the two Quarters to be brought up and I shall draw Bills for that amount in favor of the Collector of H.M. Customs.

"The first Quarter will be about £700 Sterling—the second will be a mere trifle, as the whole affairs have stood still for the last three months and the Negroes left in the most deplorable state . . ."[91]

The Lieutenant-Governor also stated to Bathurst the steps he proposed to take to provide for these people during the ensuing winter. He considered it a matter of necessity to continue the issuance of rations to them until the following June, and to give out to the most needy whatever supplies of the clothing, which had been sent out for them, still remained in store. He proposed that the rations should be issued from the Commissary General's stores; and he had authorized him "to retain one of the inferior officers on full pay to superintend & check the Issues." The Collector of Customs had agreed to superintend the whole affair for the six months' period. Dalhousie asked Bathurst to inform the Lords of the Treasury about the Bills he had drawn so that they might be honoured when presented. "I beg also Your Lordship to consider that I am in these steps only following up & executing what my predecessor Sir John Sherbrooke had ordered, but not provided for. Having no positive authority for this I must look of Your Lordship's approval to bear me thro." His opinion of the Negroes themselves was that he was "greatly afraid that (they) will long be a burden to the Public, altho' in time I have no doubt many of them will prove industrious and valuable Settlers, yet there are many bad subjects who never will do well under any circumstances." He concluded by urging Bathurst to consider the whole matter and to forward instructions as to "the further intentions of H.M.'s Government in respect to this class of people."

Later in the same month Dalhousie again wrote to Bathurst on the same subject,[92] and he enclosed a copy of his letter to the Council and a

91. P.A.S., vol. 112, pp. 1-5, Dalhousie to Bathurst, December 2, 1816.
See also vol. 421, doc. 34, a reference to an order from Sherbrooke on June 2nd for the closing of Melville Island establishment.
92. P.AN.S., vol. 112, pp. 6-9, December 29, 1816.

copy of their reply. He had, he stated, acted upon the advice of the Council, "altho' in respect to continuing the Issuers, Messrs. Chamberlagne (sic) & Johnston, I found it necessary to depart from it." He had framed an order on which the issue of rations should be guided, and had placed the system under the control of the Collector of Customs. An inferior officer of the Commissariat was assistant to the Collector. A muster of the Negroes had been made and their number far exceeded even what the Lieutenant-Governor "apprehended."[93] He now considered himself "under the necessity of continuing this sytem until the 1st June, when the winter of this climate ends; Country labour then opens with immense demand for hands, and the Wanderers leave the Settlements." Of the Negroes, he wrote: "Permit me to state plainly to Your Lordship that little hope can be entertained of settling these people so as to provide for their families and wants —they must be supported for many years—Slaves by habit & education, no longer working under the dread of the lash, their idea of freedom is idleness and they are therefore quite incapable of Industry." He was then of opinion that their constitution was unequal to the climate. And he thought it would be most desirable to restore them to their masters in the United States, if it were possible to obtain a pardon for them from the Government of that country, or to send them to Sierra Leone. Either of these places would, he thought, be satisfactory to the majority of the Negroes, but they would not go to the West Indies. "A certain number however, one third perhaps, I am assured will do very well, are industrious, sober & deserving every encouragement—for those I would entreat the protection and aid of Government in seed—Corn & Vegetables with some Implements of Husbandry & Clothing against next winter . . ."

Early in 1817 the Earl of Bathurst urged the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to reduce the expenses attendant on the Refugee Negroes; and throughout the year the Earl of Dalhousie kept the Colonial Secretary informed of developments. Richard Inglis who had "been reduced from the Commissariat Department" had charge of the issue of provisions to the Negroes during the winter.[94] Stores were rented at Halifax, Dartmouth and Sackville for use as depots of supplies for the Refugees.[95] Committees appointed by the Council continued to examine Mr. Jeffery's accounts, and also examined those of Mr. Inglis.[96] On April 30, 1817, the Council recom-

93. There were 1,619 in December, 1816, according to Richard Inglis' return.

94. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 23-6.

95. In Halifax, a store was rented from Austen & Stairs; in Dartmouth, one from John Skerry; and in Sackville, one from Henry Maxner. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, docs. 2 and 10; also doc. 11; and vol. 421, docs. 1 and 9.

96. John Black, Brenton Halliburton and Phil. Woodhouse were the committee in May, 1817; and they were also appointed again in September. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 93; vol. 214 ½, Council Minutes, September 30, 1817. Jeffery's accounts for the quarter ending July 26, 1816, included expenditures for victualling and incidental charges at Melville Island, and for providing implements and transporting provisions to the people at Preston and Hammond's Plains—£611-4-11 sterling; for the quarter ending January 27, 1817, £226-9-5 sterling. P.A.N.S., vol. 214 1/2, Minutes of Council, November 29, 1816, and May 19, 1817.

mended the adoption of the following regulations for the Black Refugees "in future":

> "All rations to cease on the first day of June next.
>
> "All single men to receive Fourteen days Rations on the 15th day of May next and to be directed to seek Employment for their support. All Black Refugees desirous of returning to the United States will be provided with the means of conveyance.
>
> "Enquiry to be made who are desirous of going to Trinidad to settle there. All the Black Refugees who have cleared land to have seeds of various kinds furnished to them in proportion to the quantities of land which they have cleared, the Hon. Charles Morris and John Prescott Esqr are requested to visit the settlements at Preston and ascertain what improvements have been made there and to Report what seeds and implements of Husbandry are required for their use the present season."[97]

On May 16, the Earl of Dalhousie wrote a letter[98] to Bathurst and outlined the steps that had been taken, "in the desire to follow up the Instructions which Your Lordship & the Lords of the Treasury have urged of reducing the expense to the Public of these People with as little delay as possible." He stated that he had authorized a notice that the issue of provisions would cease on the 31st of May. After that date new lists would be taken up, of such only as by their Industry had complied with the obligations expected, and of those who by age or infirmity, might be thought objects of compassion." He expected that this would reduce by one half the number entitled to rations, and he intended also to reduce the ration itself. But he begged that the Earl of Bathurst would understand that of necessity rations must be issued to those people until they could raise their crops, "for without that support they must utterly starve." And he assured him that he would not fail to "give this subject (his) constant attention and by every means in (his) power endeavour to reduce the expence (sic)". At the same time he recommended that Richard Inglis be employed at 10s. per day, with allowance for one horse, one ration, lodging and fuel, to look after the issue of these provisions. In this way he hoped to be able to ascertain "what is doing, or what reductions to make, as the circumstances may point out." He had had lists of the industrious drawn up, and had given them seed potatoes and some implements of husbandry.[99] None of the Negroes were "inclined to return to their Masters, or to America;" many of them, he reported, pointed out Tobago and Trinidad, but the Lieutenant-Governor had no authority "to assent to that." As winter approached, however, he anticipated that many more of them would desire to be sent "there." He therefore desired to have instructions on that point.

97. P.A.N.S., vol. 214 1/2, Minutes of Council, April 30, 1817.
98. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 23-26, Dalhousie to Bathurst, May 16, 1817.
99. See also P.A.N.S., vol. 421, docs. 96-103.

By August 1817, the Earl of Dalhousie had a more favourable opinion of these Negroes.[100] He had visited their settlements, and found that "almost every man had one or more Acres cleared and ready for seed & working with an industry that astonished (him)—against difficulties of nature almost insurmountable & opposed, abused & cheated by the old Settlers near whom they had been placed."

On June 1st the rations had been restricted to such only as had families and were actually settled "on the waste lands allotted for their Settlements". The ration itself was reduced to Pork and Indian flour only, "by which the expence (sic) falls from 10d. to 5d. each Ration." Seed potatoes, turnip seed and cabbage seed had been ussued to the Refugees in proportion to the amount of land they had cleared. Some fish nets were procured for them; and some of them had already cut boards and shingles. By all these means, the Earl of Dalhousie hoped that they might prosper; but, "My Lord," he added, "that hope is yet distant & uncertain,& it is my decided opinion that the issue of Rations to them during the next Winter is indispensable." He felt it to be "an imperious duty to state that subsistance must be afforted to these helpless people until another and larger crop enables them to feed their numerous families—without it they must perish."

By October 1818 the regular issue of rations was brought to an end; but the needs of these Refugees did not terminate at that date. The Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Council on October 12, 1818, [101] that in accordance with the instructions he had received from His Majesty's Government, the issuance of provisions would be stopped on the 24th of that month. In the following June he notified the Earl of Bathurst that he had "put a stop to the issue of Rations to the Black people on 24 October last, leaving them to their industry & personal exertions to obtain their subsistence. They persevered under great privations & want until the month of March when their means totally failed & most urgent representation was made to (him) of their starving state."[102] At that time, although the House of Assembly was in session, no grant was made from the public purse for the support of these people. Dalhousie had, therefore, "no alternative, but under the advice of H. M. Council, to authorize an issue of one Month's rations to them, to relieve their necessities until Spring, then approaching, offered them labor in the country." He had also provided them with seed. But he was again apprehensive ' that tho' they use their best exertions, & have severely experienced the effect of idleness to prompt them

100. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 32-35, Dalhousie to Bathurst, August 14, 1817.
101. P.A.N.S., vol. 214 1/2, Minutes of Council, October 12, 1818.
102. P.A.N.S., vol. 112, pp. 78-9, Dalhousie to Bathurst, June 10, 1819; also P.A.N.S., vol. 214 1/2, Minutes of Council, March 31, 1819.

to further industry & frugality—the habits of their life and constitutional laziness will continue & these miserable creatures will for years be a burden upon the Government." In conclusion he requested the Earl of Bathurst to approve the step he had taken and, if necessary, to support his order on H. M.'s Stores.

Aid From the Provincial Legislature

Subsequently, the Legislature of the province made grants for the relief of the Negroes for more than thirty years. For example, in 1823, a sum of $100 was placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant -Governor, to be applied for the purpose of procuring seed potatoes and grain, "for the distressed Negroes at Hammond's Plains, Dartmouth, and Preston; and those at Panuke Settlement in the Township of Windsor, (and) at the Beach Hill near Halifax."[103] And, in 1845, £25 was voted for distressed families among the colored population at Hammond's Plains and Preston.[104] In 1858 £100 was voted for the Negroes in Halifax County and the same amount for those in the rest of the province; and in 1859 aid was granted to the negro schools. (In the intervening years, the grants for the various settlements varied in amount).

International Controversy

These Refugee Negroes who came to Nova Scotia during and immediately after the War of 1812 were a subject of international controversy for a number of years. By Article I of the treaty of peace concluded at Ghent on December 24 1814, it was provided that "All territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty . . . shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property." The interpretation of this article in so far as it related to slaves was in dispute for several years. It was finally settled, after arbitration, by the convention of November 13,1826, which provided for the payment of $1,204,960 current money of the United States, in full satisfaction of all sums claimed or claimable from Great Britain under the award of the Emperor of Russia. (In 1825, at one of the meetings of the commissioners it was stated that the total number of slaves on the definitive list was 3,601. It was also declared that upwards of 2,400 of them were carried away from Maryland and Virginia, while others were taken from Louisiana and Georgia. One docu-

103. Journal of the Assembly, March 31 and April 1, 1823.
104. Journal of the Assembly, April 11, 1845; also 1858 and 1859.

ment purported to be "a return of American refugee negroes who have been received in the province of Nova Scotia from the United States of America between the 27th April, 1815, and the 24th October, 1818.")[105]

One phase of the controversy was a charge made by the Americans that Great Britain had "sold as slaves certain negroes who had during the course of the War placed themselves under British protection."[106] To counteract this charge most decisively, Bathurst requested Sherbrooke (Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia) to investigate the matter in the province. "However incredible," he stated, "the facts therein stated may appear to be from the circumstance of Slavery not being recognized by the Laws of Halifax yet it is most important that the question should be investigated most scrupulously and should receive the contradiction which I have little doubt can be furnished. I have to desire therefore that you will make enquiries into all the facts stated by searching the Newspapers for the period specified and ascertaining what was the ultimate fate of the slaves therein stated to be advertized for sale and by calling upon the persons mentioned in the deposition to give such information as they may be able with respect to the part borne by them in the transaction."He requested that a return be made of all the Negroes who had been taken there, and that information be obtained about their disposal. Like data were to be sought from the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. While slaves from Nova Scotia may have been sold in the West Indies twenty or thirty years before the War of 1812,[107] this charge in the post-War of 1812 dispute was soon declared by the United States Minister to Great Britain to be "so utterly destitute of foundation."[108]

Ninety-Five To Trinidad

The possibility of conveying the Refugee Negroes to a warmer climate was mooted for several years before a small number of them left Nova Scotia for Trinidad in 1821. In November 1815, for example, Bathurst wrote as follows to Sherbrooke: "As it appears . . . that many Negros (sic) from the more Southern parts of the United States have been conveyed to Halifax, contrary to the Intention of His Majesty's Government, I fear that they may during the Winter experience considerable inconvenience from the Cold. Should this be the Case, and should you be of opinion that they would prefer a Settlement in a warmer climate, I will, upon receiving from you an Estimate of the number to be provided for, take measures for their

105. J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. I, pp. 350-382; 387-8; see also Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, (New York, 1936), pp. 175-6, and John Bartlet Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle*, (1945), pp. 159-160.

106. P.A.N.S., vol. 365, doc. 103, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, May 10, 1816.

107. T. W. Smith, *The Slave in Canada*, in Vol. X of the Collections of the Nova cotia Historical Society, p. 119. In 1784, John Wentworth shipped 19 Negroes from Halifax to Dutch Guiana, vol .XX, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, p. 53.

108. William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Canadian Relations*, 1784-1860 (Washington, 1940), John Quincy Adams to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States p. 806, August 24, 1816.

Conveyance to Trinidad, where every preparation has long since been made for their reception, and where the means of procuring a subsistence will be immediately afforded them."[109] The West Indies and Africa were also considered as suitable places to which these people might be sent. Finally, the British Government offered in 1820 to convey them to Trinidad, to which Island they had been invited by the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford.[110] Earlier in that year the Governor of Trinidad brought the matter to the attention of the Lords Commissioners of H. M.'s Treasury. He pointed out that "the Families of several Black American Refugees settled in that Island (were then) in Halifax, and that it (was) very desirable that they should be conveyed to Trinidad to join their Friends."[111] Subsequently the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury requested than an enquiry be made into this matter, and directed that passages be procured for any of those Refugees who should be desirous of proceeding to Trinidad. The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia thereupon appointed a man to visit the various settlements of the Refugees and ascertain "whether any of those people are disposed to avail themselves of the offer of H.M.'s Government to be conveyed to Trinidad."[112] In January 1821, Kempt notified Harrison, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, that "about ninety of them were so disposed."[113] Tenders were then called for the conveyance of these people to Trinidad, and for the victualling of them during the voyage. Nine tenders were received. The lowest was that of Messrs. Richard and James Tremain, at the rate of £5-15-currency for each grown person, and £3 for each child. The schooner *William* in which they were to make the voyage was described as "a fine fast sailing vessel of 107 Tons Burthen—well calculated for passengers—(with) a flush Deck and three Hatchways, exclusive of the cabin & fore-castle." Messrs Tremain's tender was approved by Lieutenant-Governor Kempt on December 18, 1820. And 95 of the Negroes sailed from Halifax on January 6, 1821.[114] Richard Inglis, a Clerk in the Commissariat Department, took charge of these Blacks during the voyage. The expenses for the removal of these people amounted to £542-19-2 Currency or £486-13-3 Sterling.

It was thought that the kind reception which these people received in Trinidad would induce many of the remaining Refugees to follow them. And for a short time many who had not been at all desirous of accompanying those who went to Trinidad "evinced a strong inclination to remove

109. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 21, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, November 10, 1815.
110. Journal of Assembly, February 20, 1838.
111. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 109, George Harrison, Treasury Chambers, to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Forces, Nova Scotia, June 8, 1820.
112. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, doc. 9, Kempt to Harrison, August 16, 1820; and vol. 422, doc. 20.
113. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, doc. 35, Kempt to Harrison, January 20, 1821.
114. PA.N.S., vol. 113, doc. 35; and vol. 422, docs. 21, 24, 25 and 26. The 95 persons were 81 men and women, and 14 children.

there also." The Governor of Trinidad also expressed a wish that many more might wish to join their friends there. As a result Lieutenant-Governor Kempt of Nova Scotia intimated that the Lords of the Treasury were already aware of "the wretched manner in which these poor people have been living since the stoppage of the rations issued to them on their first coming (to Nova Scotia), and of the many difficulties with which they have to contend in consequence of the severity of the climate", and suggested that a more economical mode of transferring these Refugees would be by steamship or by one of H.M.'s vessels on the station.[115] In August, 1821, two transports arrived in Halifax with troops from England; and the agent in charge of them had received orders from the Navy Board "to proceed in one of them to Trinidad, with any of the Black Refugees settled in this Province who might be desirous of going there."[116] Richard Inglis was then employed to ascertain how many were disposed to go. The upshot was reported by Kempt as follows: ". . . that notwithstanding a great many of these people were extremely desirous, at the beginning of the year, to join their friends at Trinidad it appears from Mr. Inglis's report . . . . that none of them are inclined to avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded them by Government of doing so." Indeed, Inglis had stated "that they still appear to be possessed with the idea that Government wishes to dispose of them there, and they are generally speaking not even thankful for the kind offer that has been made them by Government.[117]" Thus it was what Governor Woodford described as "an absurd fear of being reduced to Slavery, alone," that prevented them from going to Trinidad.[118] And Lieutenant-Governor Kempt asserted that he had used every influence in his power to accomplish so desirable an object, "but these people entertain so great a fear of slavery that no persuasions can induce them to remove to any place where Slavery exists."[119]

The offer of removal was renewed at different periods; but always with the same result. To counteract "the delusion on the part of the Negroes respecting the Manner in which they (were) to be disposed of in Trinidad, it was suggested in 1825 that "a few of the more intelligent amongst them" might visit Trinidad and then report back to their associates.[120] And as late as 1839 a member of the Council of Trinidad came to Nova Scotia in an attempt to forward their efforts to obtain labourers for that Island. He informed Lieutenant-Governor Colin Campbell of the allowance provided for the conveyance of labourers of African descent from Nova Scotia. He also stated that it was considered that the removal

115. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, doc 38, Kempt to Harrison, April 17, 1821; also vol. 422, doc. 29.
116. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, doc. 47, Kempt to Harrison, August 21, 1821.
117. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 30, Inglis to George, August 20, 1821.
118. P.A.N.S., vol. 64, doc. 78, Woodford to Bathurst, April 30, 1823.
119. P.A.N.S., vol. 113, doc. 82, Kempt to Bathurst, October 16, 1823.
120. P.A.N.S., vol. 65, docs. 23 and 26.

of the Blacks from Nova Scotia "to a southern climate, better adapted to their constitutions, and to the physical habits of their race, would be highly beneficial in every point of view to themselves, and a great relief to the community upon whom they (were) frequently dependent for subsistence." His description of the settlement of Negro Refugees in Trinidad was as follows:

> "A large number of their countrymen and former associates who were located in Trinidad at the same period when their present establishments were formed in Nova Scotia have been uniformly contented and pleased with their lot, and have never required, with the exception of the first 12 or 18 months after their arrival, any assistance either from the government or from private charity . . . These 'Refugees' as they are termed, having arrived at a period when the existence of Slavery prevented any steady demand of labor for wages, were gratuitously furnished as a means of subsistence, with pieces of land, and settled together in the district of north Naparima, under the control of a superintendent—but since the abolition of Slavery in 1834 all superintendence has been withdrawn; and although they have greatly increased in numbers their Establishment in Naparima had gradually declined in consequence of the most intelligent amongst them having found it more advantageous to remove to the other cultivated districts, and where the produce of their small farms finds an immediate sale . . .[121]

121. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 53.

III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEGROES IN THE PROVINCE

Various settlements of Refugee Negroes were formed in Nova Scotia soon after their arrival. Some of them spent the winter of 1813-1814 in Halifax and its vicinity; and during the next winter these Refugees could be found at Dartmouth, Preston, Cow Bay, South East Passage and Porter's Lake, as well as in Halifax and on the Windsor Road.

Preston

Preston soon became the largest settlement of these people. The township of Preston had been surveyed and laid out by Theophilus Chamberlain[122] in 1784, by the orders of Governor Parr and under the directions of Surveyor-General Morris, for himself and about 160 others, most of whom were Loyalists. Among those people were a number of Negroes who followed the army. These disbanded soldiers soon sold their lands for a trifle or abandoned them unsold; and the Negroes did likewise before they sailed for Sierra Leone. These were succeeded by the Maroons from Jamaica, who soon followed the Loyalist Blacks to Sierra Leone. As a consequence the lands originally granted at Preston to the disbanded soldiers and others had lain unimproved for more than thirty years when arrangements were made after the War of 1812 to settle the Refugee Negroes in Preston. At that time a few settlers, Theophilus Chamberlain among them, lived there. In a letter of June 13, 1815, the Earl of Bathurst drew attention to the advantages of giving those Refugees, "who are mostly accustomed to Agricultural Labour, small Grants of Land by the cultivation of which they might in a short time be enabled to provide for their own Subsistence and to promote the general Prosperity of the Province in which they might be settled."[123] The Lieutenant-Governor then asked the Surveyor General for information about the land that might be available in Preston for the people of colour "lately arrived from the United States." And, on August 2nd of the same year, Charles Morris, the Surveyor General, intimated to Theophilus Chamberlain that it was proposed to settle a number of these people on the escheated lands in Preston. Chamberlain warmly supported this proposal which would, he stated, not only serve "to improve the Place in general, and afford assistance to us towards repairing the Roads, but likewise furnish us with Labourers of whom we stand in too much need to make any tolerable progress in our improvements (Docu-

122. Theophilus Chamberlain was a graduate of Yale University, who became a Congregationalist minister in Connecticut. Later he opened a private Latin school in Boston. He was one of the Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia in 1783. He was appointed a Deputy Land Surveyor, and laid out the township of Preston. Subsequently he was in charge of the Maroons there; and still later he surveyed lands for the Refugee Blacks and was issuer of provisions at Preston.

123. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 12, Bathurst to Sherbrooke June 13, 1815.

ment IV)."[124] By September 6, 1815, Morris reported to the Lieutenant-Governor that he had made "full enquiry on the Subject." He stated "that from the tracts of Land which have reverted to the Crown by a regular Course of Escheat and a disposition on the part of proprietors of adjoining Lands I shall be able with your approbation to place *two hundred* Families in one connected Settlement favorable for Cultivation & only six and a half mile (sic) distant from the Dartmouth Ferry and one mile and a half from Cole Harbour and 7, 3/4 miles from Halifax."[125] (Document I).

Many of the Negroes had already viewed these lands. They appeared "well pleased and satisfied with its (sic) quality & situation" and "desirous to become immediate Setlers (sic) & to clear part of their Lots & to build Huts for their families to shelter them from the inclemency of the approaching Winter."[125] (Document I).

Morris pointed out the advantages of Preston for the settlement of the Negroes; and he expressed his confidence that, "if no improper means (were) resorted to to discourage the attempt," they would with a little assistance be able to support themselves and afford a considerable supply of greens and vegetables for the Halifax market. He thought that its nearness to Halifax would afford a ready sale for all the vegetables and poultry they might raise. The lakes and rivers near Preston abounded in trout, gaspereaux, eels and perch; and the settlers would have "the facility of Supplying this Market, with, laths, shingles, hoop Poles, Brooms, axe-helves, oar Rafters, Scantling, Clapboards." These resources would "invite their industry and afford ample employment for all and means of supporting their Families." He referred to the successful efforts of the Loyalist Blacks in the same location; and declared that the Maroons who succeeded them would have lived there in comfort, had they not been dissuaded and discouraged by others from any attempt at cultivation or improvement, "since the Wild Berries alone which they gathered and sold at this market during their short stay in this Country produced them many hundred pounds which they carried with them."

The Surveyor General proposed that a village be laid out at Preston for the Negroes. He suggested compact lots of ten acres each, drawn for in the usual manner, and a reserve of 1500 acres as a common to afford them fuel, fencing and building materials when the wood on their own lots should be exhausted. He suggested that no land should be confirmed to them by grant, until they had actually settled and furnished satisfactory proof "of their fixed determination to make a permanent Settlement." And he thought that provisions, agricultural implements, construction tools and some boards should be provided for them.

124. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 41 Chamberlain to Morris, November 11, 1815.
125. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 76, Morris to Sherbrooke, September 6, 1815.

The land at Preston on which the Blacks were settled included the tracts that had reverted to the Crown and other tracts relinquished by several individuals in exchange for land of equivalent value elsewhere.[126] (Documents VII and VIII). It was in order that the Negroes might be placed in one "regular connected Settlement" (or one "connected chain of Settlements") that arrangements were made to acquire the land at Preston then the property of Michael Wallace, William Hughes, Theophilus Chamberlain, William Lawson, Philip Tidmarsh and Robert O'Brien. Wallace relinquished 150 acres, which he had received by deed from Sir John Wentworth, who had purchased this land at the public sale of the Maroon lands. Hughes gave up 100 acres which he had acquired in the same manner; and Chamberlain 300 acres. Lawson's 300 acres had come from his wife, who derived her title from her mother (formerly Mrs. Henderson) the original grantee. Tidmarsh's 100 acres was in the right of his wife. O'Brien's 400 acres had been obtained by grant on December 14, 1784.

In the summer and autumn of 1815 a number of the Negroes settled on their ten-acre lots in Preston. On September 8th the Council had read the Surveyor General's report dealing with the location of the Black Refugees upon lands lately escheated at Preston, and ordered warrants to be issued in conformity with this report.[127] And between August 2nd and September 24th Theophilus Chamberlain, Deputy Surveyor, laid out the front ranges of the projected 200 lots, and attended the different settlers, "as they came from time to time, to be placed on their Lands . . ."[128] Eight years later Surveyor General Morris stated that "in the day this settlement was forming these people were apprised that there was not land sufficient for half their number but they were so urgent to be placed near each other, that the Lots were necessarily reduced for their own convenience and accommodation."[129] Between October 3rd and December 27th, 1815, Chamberlain was engaged in settling a detachment of the Refugee Negroes at Preston. This included trucking, superintending the issue of provisions and arranging for storage of supplies for them. By September 30, 1815, there were 206 people of colour at and about Preston. These were 59 men, 50 women and 97 children.[130] (Document II).

The way in which the places in Preston were prepared for the Negroes was similar to that proposed by Charles Morris. His plan was that fifty of the most expert and active men of colour should be collected and placed on the range of lots assigned for them, that provisions should be deposited

126. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 114-118; also docs. 37, 41.
127. P.A.N.S., vol. 214, Minutes of Council, September 8, 1815.
128. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 111 and 112.
129. P.A.N.S., Land Papers, Petition of Bazil Crowd, 1823.
130. P.A.N.S., Box-Halifax County Land Grants, 1787-1835, doc. 169.

in the safe custody of some person of trust as near to the settlement as possible, and that these people should be given a weekly allowance of supplies upon the express condition of their being employed there for the general benefit of all the Negroes. A number of these were to cut 1,600 feet of boards per day, sufficient to cover the roofs and to floor two houses of 13 by 16 feet; others were to be employed with broad-axes to hew logs for sawing into boards and for timber for the roofs and floors, and to "do the little necessary Carpenters Work for Erecting Log-houses—"; and the remaining 30 were to make shingles for battening the roofs. He anticipated that these men, under proper direction, might erect two houses with stone backs of chimneys every day, "when the Weather permitted their Working and within the compass of a Week—The Houses Erected being occupied, a number more might be sent over—And thus in the Course of Six Weeks Houses might be built sufficient to Shelter five hundred people, to come over every week as the Houses were prepared for their reception—(ten persons where abundance of fuel would lie at every door) might lodge comfortably in each of those Houses, until Buildings were Built for the whole of them."[131] As the carpenters and sawyers would do more than their share of work at the buildings, the others were to be required to compensate them by clearing land about their houses. Early in January, Chamberlain reported that the withholding of the rations of those who were doing nothing had beneficial results. In consequence, "those who were doing very little are becomming (sic) more industrious and either working on their own houses or assisting others to complete theirs. And those who are in their houses are Several of them in their turns assisting those to build by whom they have been assisted, And have in the meantime two and some I believe three families in their own houses, And if the same mode of Proseding (sic) be continued with them we have a prospect of seeing a settlement that will be usefull (sic) to the town as well as advantageous to themselves may possibly enable them to laugh at the squibs that ignorance or ill nature and contempt has induced some silly Body to through (sic) out against them . . ."[132]

The Earl of Bathurst gave his sanction to the measures being taken in the province for the settlement of the Negroes. "I entirely approve the measures you have taken with respect to the Location of the Negros (sic), and the means you propose to give them for the Cultivation of the Ground allotted for their Settlement."[133]

The number of setlers at Preston soon increased. 369 men, women and children drew rations there between October 13th and October 19th, 1815. 117 of these were men; 86 women; and 166 children. During the next week

131. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 72 and 73.
132. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 46.
133. P.A.N.S., vol. 63, doc. 21, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, November 10, 1815.

500 received rations. And between October 27th and November 2nd, 585 people of colour drew rations there. The weekly figures for the period beginning November 3rd and ending December 28th, 1815, were as follows: 587; 524; 623; 635; 627; 651; and 607. From December 29, 1815, to August 1, 1816, the weekly ration list varied in numbers from 594 to 554 in mid-January; to 596 at the end of that month; to 610 at the end of February; to 672 at the end of March; to 695 at the end of the following month; to 756 at the end of May; to 769 at the end of June; and to 787 at the end of July.[134]

By December, 1815, lands had been allotted at Preston to 189 men of colour. With them were 149 women and 230 children. Rations and clothing were issued to these people. The rations included biscuits, pork, beef and rice. In November, 1815, for example, Mr. Morris received from the Commissariat Magazines at Halifax for the use of the Refugee Blacks "located at Dartmouth" 654 bags (73,200 pounds) of biscuits; 1 tierce and 76 barrels (16,122 pounds) of pork; 48,800 pounds of beef; and 20,912 pounds of rice. And in December it was proposed to distribute blankets, suits of clothes, and stockings and shoes to these people.[135] Theophilus Chamberlain was the issuer of provisions to the Blacks at Preston on October 2, 1815, and succeeding dates.[136]

At this time Seth Coleman continued to act as medical attendant to the Negroes, and his territory included Preston, Cow Bay, and adjoining areas. The need for such assistance as he rendered to these people may be discerned in the description, given by Samuel Head to Charles Morris, of their circumstances:

> "I must beg leave to observe that from those new settlers not being accustomed to a climate so severe as this, & the dwellings (altho being better than could have been expected for the short time since their erection) yet being made of green naterials, & neither proof against the wet or cold, & having no cellars under them, & some even no floors, their diet also being dry & salt, & their not being very well clothed, it may reasonably be expected, they will be very liable to the acute diseases of the country, which require early attention to remove or prevent, & therefore I think you would serve the cause of humanity in representing to His Excellency the Governor their situation, & to recommend some mode by which they may receive medical assistance when they require it.
>
> "I imagine no compensation could be afforded that would render it an object for any Medical Man in Halifax to attend them, & if I may be allowed to offer an opinion on the subject, I should think Mr. Coleman Sen if he was allowed a small salary to enable him to keep a horse, & pay him a reasonable compensation for his time, would be fully competent to the task of rendering them medical aid, for altho he is not a Medical Man, yet, from his having long been in the habit of assisting the people in the Dartmouth side he seems to have acquired considerable

134. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, docs. 63-109.
135. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 42 and 71. See also docs. 40, 45 and 89.
136. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 89.

knowledge & judgement of the diseases commonly occurring, & the people of Colour place much confidence in his opinion, & if he was supplied with some medicines & necessaries & could have the advice & assistance of some Medical Man in town in difficult occasions, I think the end might be answered at a less expence, than any other way. It may be, perhaps, His Excellency has some better plan in view but if any thing is to be done for their relief, it ought to be done soon as the poor creatures must suffer from want of assistance.[137],

Mr. Coleman's account for his allowance as medical attendant for the period from June 24, 1816, to December 26, 1816, amounted to £40.[138]

The new settlers at Preston were busy throughout 1816 in clearing land, building accommodations, and making other improvements. On May 9, 1816, Theophilus Chamberlain prepared a report of the lands cleared by these people, of the huts or houses completed or under construction, and of the various lots and individuals at Preston. There were at that time 205 "able men fit for military duty and any kind of Labour," 7 old men and 10 boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age living with their fathers.[139] (Document V). Most of the men had cleared from one-quarter of an acre to one acre. Axes were supplied to the Negroes at Preston by Richard Munday at the direction of Charles Morris who pointed out "the urgent necessity of each man being supplied with a good axe to fell Wood for Fuel for his Family the then approaching Winter. Their Huts being cold and unfinished, and the people exposed to the severity of the Weather and in want of cloathing (sic) . . ."[140] By May 10, 1816, the Lieutenant-Governor had made arrangements to have all the Blacks who were "in health" removed from the Melville Island establishment to Preston without delay. And Charles Morris was to direct Theophilus Chamberlain to have the lots of land assigned to them.[141] At the end of 1816 there were 924 Negroes in Preston (319 men; 257 women; and 348 children).[142] (See also Document XXIX).

During 1817 and part of 1818 provisions for the Preston people were stored in a building belonging to John Skerry at Dartmouth.[143]

A report on the various divisions of Preston in August, 1818, is available, with the names of the occupants of the lots and some data about the land and buildings.[144] (Document X).

These people were at various times in dire need after the regular distribution of provisions was discontinued. On March 31, 1819, for instance, the Council considered a representation relating to the starving condition

137. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 47.
138. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 65; also Folder on "Negroes."
139. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 3.
140. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 22.
141. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 70.
142. *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838, p. 37.
143. P.A.N.S., vol. 421, docs. 76, 82, 107, 117, 124; and vol. 422, docs. 3 and 11.
144. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 90.

of the Negroes in Preston and the other settlements, and recommended that an allowance of provisions for one month should be afforded to them. This allowance was to be chiefly of Indian meal and salted herrings.[145] On April 8, 1819, the House of Assembly resolved that £100 should be placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor to enable him to relieve the distress of the settlers at Preston and other places.[146] Early in 1821 the plight of these people was brought to the attention of the magistrates of Halifax and the Lieutenant-Governor. On February 27th of that year the Court of Quarter Sessions passed the following resolution:[147]

> The Magistrates . . . convened in Special Sessions beg leave to state to H.E. that they have had under consideration a representation made to them relative to the peculiarly distressed situation of the Refugee Blacks in the vicinity of Halifax and particularly those residing at Preston, and from the representation they have obtained they have reason to believe that a number of those unfortunate beings are actually suffering to an extreme degree not having one necessary of life and who have been for some time wholly supported by the neighbouring Inhabitants who have it not any longer in their power to afford them any assistance and respectfully solicit His Excellency would take the care of those people into consideration and devise such means for their relief as His Excellency in his wisdom may deem expedient.

The Council considered this matter on March 15th, and recommended that "these poor people amounting in the whole to upwards of three hundred souls . . . entirely destitute of provisions . . . should be furnished with such articles as they are in immediate want of, recommending however that this supply should not appear to be afforded from Government, lest the blacks should be led to believe that a like assistance would be extended to them whenever their wants might require it, and should thus neglect to use their utmost efforts in making a livelihood for themselves." The Council decided that the Commissioners of the Poor should be requested to take the Blacks under their charge, and to adopt such measures for relieving them as they should think proper. And they advised that, if the funds of the Poor House Establishment should require it, £100 might be advanced from the Treasury.[148] It was reported in the same month that the number of Blacks at Preston "by the last muster was nine hundred and fourteen, and by the Government list at last serving nine hundred & fifty eight." "These unfortunate people with some exceptions appear to be unable to take care of themselves. Their Huts are of poor contrivance generally without cellars or if they are provided with that convenience are so badly constructed as to occasion the loss of their Potatoes the first severe frost. Many of them are industrious and have raised a considerable quantity of Potatoes last

145. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, March 31, 1819.
146. P.A.N.S., Journal of Assembly, April 8th and April 13th, 1819.
147. Halifax County Quarter Sessions, February 27, 1821.
148. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, March 15, 1821.

Summer, but the more helpless have fed upon them during the Winter, so that they have all for some time been upon an equality in wretchedness. Their cloathing (sic) is generally very bad, & bears a proportion to their other distresses . . ."[149] Annual grants were made by the Legislature to provide the Blacks with seed potatoes.[150] In 1833, M. B. Desbrisay and Edward H. Lowe distributed to the poor coloured people at Preston and vicinity, under the authority of the Administrator of the province, Indian meal to the value of £25. This, they stated, "has afforded relief to One hundred and Eighty nine families enumerating in all Eight hundred and fifty eight persons." They declared that many of these people were wretchedly poor, and that there was every prospect "of their being a greater burthen next winter as from all we can learn there is scarcely ten bushells (sic) of Potatoes among them all."[151] Grants in aid of the distressed Negroes were continued by the Legislature in the 1840's and 1850's.[152]

The small size of their lots and the sterility of the soil were major causes of the distress of the people at Preston during these years. Indeed in 1838 their white neighbours represented that their extreme distress was owing to these two causes, and recommended that their case should considered by the Lieutenant-Governor.[153] (Document XVIII). In the meantime many of the old settlers there had petitioned the government for vacant lots or additional land elsewhere.[154] Their chief reasons for so doing were that the wood on their own land had become exhausted, and that their own property was insufficient or unsuitable for maintaining their families. In 1820, for example, Septimus Clark asked for 250 acres. His petition was referred to the Surveyor General who reported that "There are vacant lands in the Neighbourhood of Preston but not sufficient to afford so large a proportion to one Individual as the Petitioner prays for considering the great Number of People of Color Settled there who like the Petitioner have only ten acres—I think 50 acres in addition to what he had got is as much as can be well afforded unless he is content to go some miles into the interior." The outcome in this case was that the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that he be granted 100 acres as had been done for others in similar circumstances. Others at Preston who petitioned for land about this time were Jacob Allen, Dean Atkins, Suther Blair, William Bunday, Bray Cooper, James Downing, Jeremiah Gardner, Naith Johnson, Henry Lee, Henry Lee, Jr., Winslow Sparks and Jeremiah West. Most of these petitions were approved by the Lieutenant-Governor for from

149. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 28, Captain Scott to Kempt, March 19, 1821.

150. P.A.N.S., vol. 146, George to the Treasurer, May 17, 1828; also Minutes of Council, May 17, 1828; and vol. 292, doc. 7, 1833.

151. P.A.N.S., vol. 311, doc. 90.

152. In 1858 the vote for Halifax County Negroes was £100. Journal of Assembly, May 3, 1858.

153. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, June 26— 1838. Also vol. 422, doc. 49; and P.A.N.S., Land Papers, memorial of John Chamberlain in behalf of the people of colour at Preston.

154. P.A.N.S., Land Papers. In 1819, Richard Smothers was given a grant of 130 acres at Preston.

25 to 150 acres. Between 1823 and 1827 others also applied for additional land. These included Charles Bennet, Clement Bennet, Suther Blair, Spencer Boyd, Henry Broad, Daniel Clayton, John Collins, Solomon Crawley, Bazil Crowd, William Deer, Samuel Evens, Bennet Fletcher, William Fullum, Elizabeth Grant, Henry Groos, Solomon Gundy, Gabriel Hall, Henry Hill, Prince James, Caesar Johnson, Benjamin Johnston, N. Leach, David Page, Zechariah Randal, William Raph, Thomas Saunders, Joseph Smith, John Statton, Charles Stewart and William Wise. Virtually all of these petitions were approved for from about ten to one hundred acres to each.

But these grants in the 1820's were not enough to satisfy all the Negroes in Preston. Still less did they eliminate the need for relief. After 1827, moreover, land was supposed to be sold, not granted; and to the request in 1838 that the Lieutenant Governor should take the case of the Preston Negroes into consideration, the Council reported "that they have not the means of affording any relief to these unfortunate people." Since there appeared to be no chance of a change in land policy, the Council could but advise His Excellency "to call once more the attention of the Assembly to the unhappy state of these poor people in order that means may be devised for improving their condition."[155]

The only solution to many of the problems relating to the Negroes at Preston seemed to be the removal of many of them to more fertile lands; but there were several obstacles to the execution of such a design. First of all these people were averse to removal to a warm climate because of fears for their civil and religious liberties "which it seems impossible to overcome." Indeed, in 1836, E. H. Lowe had visited Preston to ascertain whether any would be disposed to emigrate to Trinidad or Demerara; but none could be induced to accept the offers proposed to them. "They all appear fearful," he stated, "of embarking on the water—many of them are old and have large families, and if a few of the men should be willing to go, the women would not. It is objected among them, that they have never heard any report of those who were sent away a few years ago to the same place, and think that if they were doing well some report of it would have reached them. They seem to have some attachment to the soil they have cultivated, poor and barren as it is, and, I think, feel some jealousy lest such as remain should possess the improvements of all that might leave. One man did express some willingness to move, but expected in such case to be paid at a valuation for the Land he occupies. It was readily acknowledged by them that too many are settled together, that the Land is worn out, bare of fuel, and cannot maintain such a number, particularly in a District where labor is not to be obtained to assist their support, and they

155. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, June 26, 1838.

all seem ready and willing to remove to any other part of this Province, where the land is more fertile and a larger portion can be given them." Land policy, however, would have to be changed before these people could even be settled elsewhere in the province. As things were, moreover, nothing could be expected "but a yearly recurrence of their claims upon the Public for relief, which when granted is at the best but extremely temporary among so many."[156]

The need for removal was emphasized in 1837. Dr. Thomas B. Desbrisay and Edward H. Lowe, J.P., made an appraisal of the situation in that year, when they distributed the Indian meal provided for the relief of the Blacks "at Preston, Musquodoboit & Guysborough road." They visited Preston and reported that there were about 150 families settled there. With very few exceptions all were "miserably poor, and from the small quantity of land they occupy, the destruction of all wood & Timber at their command, and the extreme poverty of the soil, there was not in (their) opinion any hope of their ever being able to maintain themselves, they must inevitably suffer severe privations and become a burden on the Public every session . . ." Only about six or seven families were comfortable and had good crops every year; but those in distress around them begged from them and were a very serious drawback to their industry. Twelve families were then settled on the old Musquodoboit Road, and five on the new road to Guysborough. "From the opinion of past years it appears to us," they stated, "quite impossible that the people of colour settled at Preston can ever maintain themselves in such a body and in such a poor district, their proximity to the town of Halifax induces many to visit it twice a week in summer and as often as they can in winter, whereby time is lost which should be employed in cultivating their land and providing for the severities of so cold a climate, the district is too poor to afford them employment as Labourers and quite too many are settled in one spot." This committee considered other factors in the situation, and concluded by suggesting the removal of the Negroes from Preston—"a few families to each of the several counties of the Province, it is probable that if so settled they would be found useful as Labourers and if afforded some assistance in the first year upon good land they would certainly be able to support themselves in future. The Lots of such as removed could perhaps in some measure be rendered available towards their new Location." They thought that the Legislature might place at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor a sum of money "towards effecting their removal and thereby alleviating their present sufferings."

In the same year the Assembly recommended that some arrangements

156. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 43, Dr. Desbrisay and Edward H. Lowe to Sir Rupert George, March 9, 1837. Also P.A.N.S., Folder—"Negroes", Lowe's letter of June 7, 1836, which is printed in Journal of the Assembly, 1837, Appendix 9.

be made for removing such families of the colored population as were willing to leave Preston, Hammond's Plains and Beech Hill to better lands at a distance from the capital,[157] "if His Excellency shall feel himself at liberty to bestow upon them any porton of such lands." Since the Lieutenant-Governor could not comply with this recommendation, the Council advised him to communicate with His Majesty's Government on the subject. In his letter of August 25, 1837, Lieutenant-Governor Campbell reviewed the whole affair for the information of Lord Glenelg.[158] (Document XVI). He described their conditions of life, their refusal to follow those who went to Trinidad or to go to other places having a warm climate and their determination to remain in the province. Nor were they willing to be distributed in detachments in different parts of the province, where fertile land might be provided for them, and where with the assistance of the wages they might occasionally obtain as labourers they might earn a comfortable livelihood. They were however willing to remove in a large body to another part of the province; "about 100 or 120 of the 250 families" being ready so to do. Campbell had asked the Surveyor General to point out the most eligible site for the location of about 100 families, and to supply an estimate of the expense of laying out lots for them. That expense was reckoned at £100. But other assistance would be required by the Negroes for building accommodations and for providing supplies for the first few months. Campbell thought that the whole charge incident to their removal would be about £500 or 600. He was of opinion that the Assembly would decline to advance the sum required for the purpose, since the Negroes had already occasioned so much expense in this province, into which they were introduced as paupers, "and against the desire of the Inhabitants." He referred to the willingness of the British Government to defray the expense of the removal of the Negroes to another colony, and expressed the hope that they would not be unwilling to "bear the charge of transferring them from barren lands on which they are now living to a better part of the Country where the fruitful Soil would stimulate them to those industrious habits which have been discouraged by the unproductive nature of the land on which they are now settled."

Glenelg replied that the mode by which it was proposed to remove the Negroes was "open to serious & I fear insuperable objections."[159] (Document XVII). One difficulty was that the free gift of any part of the waste lands of the Crown involved a departure from the spirit as well as the letter of the current land regulations. He also thought that the plan was calculated to "cherish the mistaken & mischievous notion, that if they are to

157. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, April 28, 1837.
158. P.A.N.S., vol. 115, pp. 56-7, Campbell to Glenelg, August 25, 1837.
159. P.A.N.S., vol. 75, pp. 255-262, Glenelg to Campbell, October 25 1837; also P.A.N.S., vol. 422 docs. 47 and 50.

subsist at all, it must be as proprietors of Land and not as Laborers for hire." The expenditure required presented another difficulty. He too anticipated that the Assembly would be unlikely to consent to appropriate any more of the Public money for their benefit. For the Imperial government to provide a grant for the purpose would be a most inconvenient precedent, "exciting expectations which could not be realized amongst a class of Settlers in some of the British Colonies whose improvidence has reduced them to great poverty & distress." Glenelg declared that the data in Campbell's dispatch was not sufficient to enable him to arrive at a definitive decision in the matter. And he wished to ascertain—

> "1. Whether these Blacks enjoy the same means of obtaining in the vicinity of their locations, a livelihood, in common with others of the laboring class, by their own exertions.
>
> "2d. If that should not be the case, whether other parts of the Province do not offer an eligible opening for their employment as Labourers.
>
> "&3d. Whether in that case the Assembly would be disposed to vote a moderate sum to enable the parties to transfer their Labor to those Districts."

By January, 1839, however, the British Government was prepared to modify the Land Regulations for the benefit of these Negroes, if the Legislature of Nova Scotia should be willing to incur the expense of their removal.[160] Meantime in August, 1838, Joseph Howe had placed in Lord Glenelg's hands a letter relating to the Black settlers in Nova Scotia. Howe's plan for the relief of the Negroes was similar to that which had been described by Campbell in his letter of August 25, 1837, to Glenelg. The difficulties still appeared very important to Glenelg; "but considering the peculiar circumstances under which those people were originally sent to Nova Scotia—the apparent hopelessness of inducing them to emigrate to any other colony—the utter destitution in which they now are, and the liberality heretofore evinced towards them by the Provincial Legislature," Glenelg was, he stated, "anxious as far as possible to consult the expressed wishes of the Assembly in regard to them."

> "If therefore they should still persist in their refusal to go to Trinidad, you will consider yourself authorized, shou.ld the Legislature be willing to encur (sic) the expense of their removal, to locate them on any unoccupied Crown Lands in the Province which may appear to you most eligible. In so doing however you will of course restrict their locations within the narrowest limits compatible with the object in view; and to prevent their becoming the prey of designing persons, you will not issue to them, at least for the present, any title deeds for their Land but will make out the Grant to them in such a way as to prevent its alienation without the express previous consent of the Governor of the Province, acting with the advice of the Executive Council."

160. P.A.N.S., vol. 77, pp. 21-8, Glenelg to Campbell, January 8, 1839.

Meantime the settlers at Preston continued to hold their lands by tickets of location and licences of occupation; but their grants had never been confirmed. In 1828, however, John Spry Morris, the Surveyor General, at the direction of Lieutenant-Governor Kempt began a survey of the lots at Preston preparatory to a grant being issued to them. This was discontinued by Morris, after he had surveyed fifty lots and found that the total expense would far exceed his anticipations.[161] The Negroes continued to request that their grants might be confirmed.[162] (Documents XX and XXI). In 1841, more than one hundred of the Preston Negroes petitioned for the removal of the disabilities under which they laboured. They referred to the barrenness and unproductivity of their lands, the smallness of their lots, and the hopeless poverty of the great majority of the settlers. They asked that their titles to their lots might be confirmed so "that those who wish to sell and remove to better locations or follow other employments (might) dispose of (their) lands and improvements to those who remain. At present, holding under Tickets of location, (they could not) sell to advantage, (they were) tied to the land without being able to live upon it, or even vote upon it, without being at every Election questioned, browbeaten and sworn." They also asked that larger and better lots of land should be laid out, and assigned to those who were willing to remove "upon such terms of settlement as (would) enable (them) to acquire a freehold by patient industry and frugality." The Surveyor General then reported, on March 4, 1841, that "a plan and description of the several lots which had been laid out to the Blacks at Preston passed (his) office on the 4th Mar. 1836, and in the preceding year of the lots laid out for the Blacks at Hammonds Plains." But he did not appear to know why the grants were not confirmed. He concluded his remarks with the following: "There can be no doubt that in this severe climate at least 100 acres would be required for each family in order to afford a proper supply of fuel, but at the same time these people have wasted their fuel by burning the wood into charcoal. I am not aware of there being any authority for passing Free Grants to them." The Council considered the petition of the Preston settlers on March 11, 1841. They "'ordered that with a view to the passing of a General Grant to these poor people of the lands long occupied by them the Surveyor General be directed to ascertain and report what changes in the ownership thereof have taken place since the same were surveyed about five years since,—and that the Deputy Surveyor to be employed on this service be required to ascertain and report the names of such as are desirous to obtain farm lots in some more favorable situation."[163] (Document XXIII).

161. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 41.
162. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 46 and Box—"Crown Lands—Peninsula of Halifax 1840-1845."
163. P.A.N.S, Minutes of Council, March 11, 1841.

Finally the necessary preliminaries were completed in 1841-1842, and the general grant, containing in all about 1,800 acres, was issued on May 3, 1842. (Document XXIV).

The population of Preston declined between 1816 and 1851. The figures for 1816 disclosed a total of 924; the number in 1827 was 708; in 1838 it was 525 (including 67 on the New Musquodoboit Road); and in 1851 there were 496.[164] This decrease in the population of Preston indicates that many had sought employment or other land elsewhere.

The variations in population during the following ninety years may be seen in the census records. In the Census Report of Nova Scotia for 1861 Preston had a population of 641. And the numbers for the years of the Dominion Centus Returns from 1871 to 1941 are in the *Census* of *Canada* 1941, vol. II, page 59. These are for 1871—715; for 1881—794; for 1891—843; for 1901—498; for 1911—519; in 1921—572; in 1931—741 and in 1941—909.

Hammond's Plains

By 1815 a number of the Refugee Blacks had settled at Hammond's Plains. In November of that year George P. Brehm surveyed and ran the lines for the people settled there; and John Liddell and Thomas Johnston were the issuers of provisions to them. Lists of people at Hammond's Plains in 1815 disclose that 42 were entitled to rations in one instance, and 80 in another. By June, 1816, however, the population had increased to 307 (and there were also 11 on the Prospect Road and 6 others in the vicinity); in September it was 321; and at the end of the year it reached 504 (201 men, 131 women, and 172 children). John Liddell, Thomas W. Pyke and Henry Maxner furnished supplies, transportation or storage facilities, and Lieutenant Keith and Sergeant Beeby of the 62nd Regiment supervised the handling of the provisions for the settlers. In 1816 Richard Inglis and William Strath mustered the Refugee Negroes in the various settlements. Those at Hammond's Plains were vaccinated by Dr. F. Carter Pike in 1818.[165]

At Hammond's Plains, as in Preston, the settlers soon began to ask for more land. During the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie a license of occupation was granted to 75 settlers, and their lands were divided into ten-acre lots.[166] (Documents XI and XXVIII). On December 4, 1819, Dominic De Broker and 35 other Negroes petitioned for a portion of the land, formerly the property of John Liddell and others, which had reverted to the Crown. They declared that several of them had built

164. P.A.N.S., vols. 446, 448 and 452.

165. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 89, 92, 117, 120-3; vol. 421, docs. 9, 70-2, 74, 77-8, 108, 84, 115, 122, 125; also *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838, p. 37; Journal of Assembly, March 4, 7, 8, 17 and 25, 1820.

166. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 119.

houses and made improvements on the relinquished tract. None of these 36 applicants had had previous grants of land. They stated that when the Hammond's Plains people had been settled by John Liddell and others, these landowners did not feel disposed to settle more than eighty families, with ten acres for each family.[167] In the following year, Charles Arnold, who had settled in Preston in 1816 and improved about five acres, asked for additional land to enable him to extend his improvements, and to provide him with a sufficient quantity of firewood.[168] In 1827, James Watson, who had been ill when the other coloured people were located at Hammond's Plains, applied for a vacant lot there, and his application was approved. And two years later Andrew Smith, who had previously obtained one of the ten-acre lots, asked for the adjoining one.

Distress was unfortunately all too prevalent among the Hammond's Plains people. And for more than thirty years they received grants from the Legislature. One example of their need for relief is afforded by a description of their situation in 1827. In that year Archdeacon Willis visited Hammond's Plains, and with the help of the schoolmaster there, investigated the greater part of the settlement. In most of the huts he found fever or the after-effects of it, as well as a want of clothing, bedding, nourishment and medicine. There had been twenty-one deaths between October, 1826 and January, 1827. Very few of the settlers had any other food than potatoes, and in that year they were of an inferior quality. Some families were even without potatoes, and lived by begging from their poor neighbours. The articles then most needed there were clothing of all kinds and blankets, Indian meal, molasses and salt fish. Mr. Campbell, the schoolmaster there, had aided the Negroes in this period of distress by maintaining a small stock of provisions which he sold to them "at very reduced prices," and by attending to the needs of the sick and destitute. Dr. John C. Carter, Assistant Staff Surgeon, was ordered by the Lieutenant-General Commanding to visit this settlement and report on the epidemic which prevailed amongst the people there. He found that the disease was very similar to the one which had been "rife in Halifax since the month of October last and has many appearances in common with Scarlet Fever of which it is a modification." Dr. Carter visited 14 families, comprising 68 people. Twenty-two had had the disease, six were convalescent; 13 were in the acute stage of the disease; and three fatal cases had occurred. "The houses of all those visited were with two exceptions warm and for the present supplied with fuel; but in most instances they were indebted to the bounty of their neighbours for this temporary supply. Their beds were of dry hay, and though some enjoyed the comfort of blankets, yet others were

167. P.A.N.S., Box No. 7, Halifax County Crown Lands Plans, 1819.
168. P.A.N.S., Land Papers, 1820.

destitute of that covering and lay in their own clothes, half covered with pieces of carpet or rug, and some again did not enjoy any of these substitutes." Owing to the protracted nature of the disease, and the resulting withdrawal from employment of the chief support of these families, Dr. Carter anticipated that much distress might follow. He had been supplied with medicines for the sick from the Military Medical Stores; and he left a small supply with Mr. Campbell who would continue his ministrations among his afflicted neighbours.[169] Meantime a committee had been formed for relieving the distressed Blacks at Hammond's Plains, and a small amount of money was authorized for alleviating their sufferings. The schoolhouse was used as the repository for the provisions, clothing and hammocks which were sent to Hammond's Plains. Mr. Campbell and two of the coloured people assisted Mr. Judah Wells to distribute these articles.[170]

Early in 1828 also, the Lord Bishop informed the Lieutenant-Governor that the coloured people at Hammond's Plains "were in a most deplorable condition for want of food and that unless immediate relief were extended to them, the consequences would be appalling." The Council thereupon expressed their opinion that the Assembly would readily defray any expenses which might be incurred by the Lieutenant-Governor in relieving these distressed people, and advised him to send such further supplies as he might deem necessary.[171] The needs of the Negroes at this time were no doubt accentuated by seasonal lack of employment.

A return of the Negroes of Hammond's Plains was made about 1820 when plans were being completed for sending to Trinidad those who desired to go. At that time there were 469 people in this settlement. These included 28 families comprising 70 persons who were desirous of going to Trinidad.[172] (Document XII). Early in 1821 ninety-five Negroes, made up of people from several of the settlements, sailed for Trinidad. Subsequent offers of removal to other colonies were declined. In 1833, when provisions were distributed to the needy among the various settlements, 316 people at Hammond's Plains were recipients of meal, beef and sugar.[173] In 1836, Archibald Gray visited Hammond's Plains to furnish the settlers there with favorable information about Demerara and Trinidad, with a view to ascertaining how many would be willing to remove. He had previously given notice of his intentions to all the inhabitants; about half of the heads of families attended the meeting, at which Gray read a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor, explained the intention of the government, and gave data about the climate, soil and resources of Demerara and Trinidad.

169. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, docs 35-7.
170. P.A.N.S., vol. 146, January 16, 1827.
171. P.A.N.S., Minutes of Council, April 7, 1828.
172. P.A.N.S., vol 422, doc 19.
173. P.A.N.S., vol. 311, doc. 90; also Folder—"Negroes."

But not one individual would consent to remove. Gray attributed this refusal to two causes; "a foolish and indefinite fear of again being brought into bondage," and the fact that "there (were) several of their number who have great influence among them, and being able to earn their own subsistence do not wish to leave the Province; and the rest poor and miserable though they (were), (were) unwilling to remove without them."[174] In his report on this mission to the settlement, Gray included a list of the names of the colored people there. It included 66 heads of families, 61 wives and 180 children; 307 in all.

Land was held at Hammond's Plains by tickets of location or licences of occupation until 1834 when a grant of 600 acres was made to 30 men.[175] (Document XIII). In the next year, Joseph Thomas prepared a report on eighty-two lots there. He furnished the names of the people to whom they had been originally assigned, the names of those by whom they were then occupied and the names of those by whom they were then owned. In addition to those who had been "regularly settled by Government" on those lots, Thomas thought that there were about 24 other families settled on lots for which they had no cards. In 1831 and 1833 surveys had been made at Hammond's Plains; and in 1836 John Spry Morris received payment for office fees relating to a grant there of 126 allotments containing 1323 acres of land.[176]

The population of Hammond's Plains has shown some changes over a period of a century and a quarter. In 1827 the number of people there was 440;[177] but in 1838 the population was 196;[178] in 1851 there were 606 people in the settlement,[179] in 1861, 770.[180] Census figures for the next 80-year period were as follows: 1871—740; 1881—785; 1891—648; 1901—691; 1911—707; 1921—682; 1931—619; and 1941—696.[181]

Other Settlements

Other settlements formed by the Refugee Blacks included those at Windsor Road, Refugee Hill, Porter's Lake, Cobequid Road, Beech Hill, Prospect Road, Fletcher's Lake and Beaver Bank.

By 1816 there were at least 51 Negroes settled on the Windsor Road.[182] (Document VI). These included 11 men, 14 women and 26 children. And

174. Journal of he Assembly, 1837, Appendix 9; also P.A.N.S., Folder—"Negroes." Also Journal of Assembly, March 11 and 12, 1836. And March28, 1836; Feb. 21, March 4, and April 11, 1837.
175. P.A.N.S. vol. 419, doc. 120. Thomas's report of June 17, 1835, is in P.A.N.S., Box—Halifax County Land Grants, 1787-1835, doc. 185.
176. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, docs. 55, 58, 59, 60, 61 and 62.
177. P.A.N.S., vol. 446.
178 P.A.N.S., vol. 448.
179. P.A.N.S., vol. 452.
180. P.A.N.S., N. S Census 1861.
181. Census of Canada, 1941, vol. II, p. 59.
182. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 133.

in 1815 some of the Negroes were employed on the road leading to Windsor.[183] By indenture of January 27, 1816, Isaac Fitchet and Sergeant Pelotte, Refugee Negroes, obtained from the Rev. William Cochran of Windsor, for ten shillings each, two lots of land, each of ten acres, in the township of Windsor, on the south-west side of the Windsor-Halifax road. These lands were to be occupied and improved for seven years. A few days later John Griffin obtained lot No. 7 in the township of Windsor, containing two acres, with houses and buildings, from James Cuppaidge Cochran. He also was to remain and improve the lot for seven years. Sergeant Pelotte made over to Rev. William Cochran in December, 1824, the tract which he had previously obtained from him. Pelotte received £2 from the Rev. Mr. Cochran for the improvements he had made on the property. In February, 1816, John Griffin's family consisted of himself, his wife and three children. In the same year, Fitchet's family also comprised himself, his wife and three children; and Pelotte's family was of the same size.[184] In August, 1821, the Blacks settled in the neighbourhood of Windsor were among those who were offered the opportunity of removal to Trinidad.[185]

There were 23 Refugees settled at Refugee Hill, near the North West Arm, in November, 1815. They occupied land which had been conveyed to them by Henry H. Cogswell, who also issued provisions to them at that time. Throughout 1816 these and other Refugees made improvements on their land in this vicinity. By the end of that year the number of Negroes at Refugee Hill was 76.[186] (Document III). And on March 27, 1818, each of twelve men was given a licence to occupy a ten-acre lot at Refugee Hill. They were to possess these lots for a term of five years and then, if their conduct as industrious, peaceable and loyal subjects was approved, they were supposed to receive grants of confirmation from the government.[187] Eighty-nine persons at Beech Hill (see Document XXVI for plan of Beech Hill, June 17, 1816), and North West Arm were recipients of provisions from the government in 1833.[188]

In March, 1815, there were 27 at Porter's Lake; and in October of that year John Lynch, Henry Brown, Charles Cephas, Adam Green and James Wallace obtained five lots of land on the west side of Porter's Lake, from Rufus Fairbanks. These lots were to be occupied and improved for seven years. These men had apparently lived at Porter's Lake throughout the winter of 1814-5. In October, 1815, these five men, their wives and a total of

183. Journal of the Assembly, February 19, 1816. Also P.A.N.S., vol. 141, p. 45.
184. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 109-111; and 48, 50 and 52.
185. P.A.N.S., vol. 142, pp. 69-70, Rupert D. George to the Magistrates resident at Windsor, August 17, 1821.
186. P.A.N.S., vol. 420, docs. 93 and 89; cf. vol. 419 docs. 53 and 65. *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia*, 1815-1838, p. 37.
187. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 36.
188. P.A.N.S., vol. 311 doc. 91.

14 children resided on the land which had belonged to Fairbanks.[189] They cleared a large piece of land before 1816, and during 1815 they raised more than 300 bushels of potatoes besides vegetables. Early in 1816 they expressed their unwillingness to remove to lands which Rufus Fairbanks had conveyed to them.

On September 22, 1815, T. N. Jeffery conveyed to ten Refugee Blacks a tract of land on the road leading from Fletcher's Bridge to Truro. They received this tract for the sum of ten shillings each, on condition that they would remain on the lots for seven years and improve them for cultivation. In July, 1818, a warrant was issued for 50 acres for another Refugee, James Barron, on land by the side of Fletcher's Lake. Thomas Williams was the issuer of provisions to those on the Cobequid Road in December, 1815.[190] In April, 1816, there were 7 men, 6 women and 4 children near Shubenacadie on the tract which was formerly the property of Mr. Jeffery.

On July 1, 1816, there were 11 Refugee Negroes located on the Prospect Road. These were 5 men, 5 women and 1 child.[191]

Aaron Williams and Richard McCarter obtained thirty acres each at Beaver Bank from John Rule on November 30, 1815. They were to occupy these lots for twenty years and then during their natural lives, and to pay Rule or his heirs one shilling yearly, if demanded. They were also to clear one acre each annually, and to erect log houses within a reasonable time. In July, 1816, Captain Bazalgette of the 98th Regiment conveyed about 27 acres of land at Beaver Bank to Daniel Acres, and a tract of about the same size there to John Francklin, on the same terms as for those who occupied Rule's land.[192]

Effects of the Abolition of Slavery Act (1833)

The difficulties involved in the establishment of the Refugee Blacks in Nova Scotia induced the members of the Assembly to take steps to prevent the arrival of additional Negroes after the passing of the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833. This act was to emancipate the slaves in the West Indies, Bermuda and the Bahamas, and thus rid all parts of the Briitsh Empire of slavery. It provided for compensation to the West Indies Planters, and for an apprenticeship system for the slaves. The term of apprenticeship for the praedial labourers was not to continue beyond August 1, 1840; that for the non-praedial not beyond August 1, 1838. But Antigua voluntarily emancipated their slaves (30,000 of them) in 1834, and Bermuda also declared for immediate emancipation. And, under the pressure of

189. P.A.N.S., vol 419, doc. 106; vol. 420, docs. 75, 77 and 89.
190. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 105; vol. 420, doc. 89; Land Papers, Petition of James Barron, 1818. Also vol. 421, doc. 58.
191. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 64.
192. P.A.N.S., vol. 419, docs. 67, 107, 112-3.

public opinion in England, the Imperial Government induced the other colonies to bring the apprenticeship system to an end in 1838, two years before the stipulated time. Meantime, the Assembly of Nova Scotia took precautions. And on March 3, 1834, the following resolution was passed:

> "Whereas, it is feared that upon the Negroes being emancipated from their slavery in the West Indies, and the Bermudas and Bahama Islands, numbers of them may be brought into this Province, and prove a great burthen upon the Community.
>
> "Resolved that a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best method of preventing the introduction of Paupers into this Province."

Three days later the Committee reported, and a bill to prevent the clandestine landing of liberated slaves from vessels arriving within this province was read a first time. This bill, (Cap. LXVIII), (An Act to prevent the Clandestine Landing of Liberated Slaves, and other Persons therein mentioned, from Vessels arriving in the Province) was passed on April 16, 1834. In 1836 action was taken to continue this bill; but in the meantime it was disallowed by the Imperial Government. The Committee of Council for Trade had reported that "this Act prohibits the access to the Province of a class of Your Majesty's Subjects, who have, by a recent Act of Parliament, been relieved from the disabilities formerly affecting them, and to whom it is not fitting, that new disabilities, from which the other classes of Your Majesty's Subjects are exempt, should be extended. For this reason, the Lords of the Committee are humbly of opinion that this Act should be disallowed."[193]

Despite the disallowance of the Provincial statute, the dreaded inundation of Negroes did not follow. This is not surprising for, although in the past large numbers of these people had come to Nova Scotia chiefly in the migration of their masters or on the occasions of warfare, few if any had come on their own initiative.

Assistance for the Negroes

Meantime the descendants of the Loyalist Blacks and other Negroes, in settlements other than those formed by the Refugees of the War of 1812, petitioned for land grants or for relief in time of crop failure. In 1821, for instance, George Johnston, who though born in the United States had been a resident of Nova Scotia for 36 years, asked for 200 acres of land near Milford Haven River, and was granted a ticket of location for this land. In the same year Jack Langille ("black man, free"), who had been born at Canso in 1783, asked for land near Petite Riviere.[194] And in December, 1827, Peter Johnson, Peter Ringwood, Caesar Hawkins and Peter

193. Kenneth Bell and W. P Morrell, *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy*, 1830-1860, (Oxford, 1928), pp. 370 *et seq.*; Journal of Assembly, March and April, 1834, and February 9, 1836

194. P.A.N.S., Land Papers.

Johnson, Jr., of Clements, asked to have their land titles confirmed by grants.[195] In 1837, moreover, the coloured people residing on each side of the line between Guysborough and Sydney (Antigonish) Counties were in dire need because of crop failure. Their petition for aid, which was signed by forty-four names and marks, was as follows:

> "That Your Petitioners comprising forty Families are in a most deplorable state of starvation arising from incidents which no human exertion could prevent in the failure of the crops last season, by an early frost which your Petitioners regret, has been generally felt throughout the Province, particularly the County of Sydney, which your Petitioners deplore the most, as the generous and humane have it not in their power to relieve them as on former occasions, which compelled your Petitioners though reluctantly to apply to Your Honourable House as the only and last resort of prolonging life, for the major part of your Petitioners have been supported by the charity of their white neighbours this month past, Your Petitioners therefore humbly solicit that your Honourable House will be pleased to take their forlorn and scarcely exampled condition into your most serious consideration, and grant them such aid to prevent such a number of souls from premature departure as to you in your wisdom may seem proper."[196]

In 1847 money was voted by the Legislature for the relief of the coloured population in the County of Guysborough, at Tracadie in the County of Sydney, and in the Counties of Shelburne, Queens, Annapolis and Digby, as well as for those at Hammond's Plains, Beech Hill, Sackville, and Preston and vicinity, in the County of Halifax, and in the County of Hants.[197] And the grants for their relief in 1853 related also to those in Cumberland, Kings and Yarmouth Counties.[198]

Schools and Churches

Facilities for education and worship were early made available for the Refugee Blacks as well as for the other Negroes in the province. Coloured children might attend either the same schools as the whites or others specially provided for themselves. In the later 1780's, for example, Colonel Stephen Bluck, a mulatto, was the schoolmaster at the settlement of the Loyalist Blacks at Birchtown, near Shelburne.[199] And, in 1814, there were 37 Black children in the Royal Acadian School at Halifax. This school building had formerly been the Theatre. There children were taught reading, writing and arithmetic; and the girls were also instructed in needle-work.[200]

195. P.A.N.S., Box—Annapolis County Land Grants—doc. 180.
196. P.A.N.S., vol. 313, doc. 116, petition dated at Tracadie, March 9, 1837. (75 of the Loyalist Blacks had obtained land grants at Tracadie).
197. Journal of the Assembly, March 23 and 25, 1847.
198. Journal of the Assembly, March 26 and 29, 1853. It must not be forgotten that some of the white immigrants who arrived after 1812 also required some aid, particularly in time of crop failure. About 40,000 white immigrants came into the province between 1815 and 1838, and about 16,000 during the succeeding twelve or thirteen years. The year 1815, moreover, was excessively wet and unfavourable for agriculture; the year 1816 is known as "the year without a summer;" and 1817 crops were adversely affected by the ravages of mice. Difficulties were also encountered in subsequent years.
199. T. Watson Smith, *The Loyalists at Shelburne*, Vo. VI, Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, p. 76.
200. Journal of the Assembly, February 24, 1814.

It must be realized, however, that this was many years before the establishment of compulsory assessment for the support of free schools in Nova Scotia. The initial attempt of the British at an organized system of education in the province had been under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1749. After the influx of the New England settlers in the 1760's, and also of other immigrants in the succeeding decades, the S.P.G. redoubled its educational efforts and new developments appeared. First of all, there was a greatly increased demand for school teachers, and this need could not be fully met by the S.P.G. And, secondly, many of the new settlers did not wish to have their children educated in the S.P.G. schools but they were desirous that they should receive instruction. These two factors combined to foster the establishment of free-lance schools as the commercial enterprises of private individuals, and to encourage the appearance of itinerant schoolmasters who went from settlement to settlement, or from house to house, teaching the children for a small fee. The first Education Act passed by the Legislature of the province (6 George III, Cap. VII) required that teachers should be in some measure qualified for their duties. The Act 15 George III, Cap. II, which made the first provision for secondary education in Nova Scotia, was the first instance of a money vote by the government for the support of schools. But no particular fund was appropriated for the support of the Halifax Grammar School at this time. Such a provision was made in 1794 (Cap. 15) when it was enacted that the additional Wine duty on wine imported into Halifax might be applied to the amount of £150 per annum towards the maintenance of that institution. Money obtained from the same duty in the outports might be applied for the support of public schools or such other public beneficial purposes as the Justices of the Peace in their General Sessions should think most expedient and useful. But the provisions of this Act must have been irregular and uncertain. The statute of 1811, however, "for Encouraging the Establishment of Schools throughout the Province," was an important step. Its preamble set forth the right and necessity of every person to be educated: "Whereas it is highly advantageous to the Youth of this Province, to afford them easy means of acquiring useful Knowledge in those essential parts of general education, which are necessary to persons of every rank and station in civilized society." And it provided means for obtaining "an object so desirable."[201] This was the basis of the school system in Nova Scotia at the time of arrival of the Refugee Blacks of the War of 1812, and its provisions are therefore of special interest here.

By this Act an attempt was made to establish schools in all communities of a considerable size, and three forms of local revenue for their sup-

201. Statutes of Nova Scotia; also James Bingay, *Public Education in Nova Scotia*, pp. 8-37.

port were recognized. It was to be lawful for the freeholders or persons with at least 40 shillings annual income, in communities of at least 30 families, to assemble annually "for the purpose of voting, subscribing or raising, money, for the establishment and support of Schools." The money so voted or subscribed was not to be more than £200, nor less than £50, for each year. After a school house had been actually built and provided for, and a schoolmaster had been appointed and money to the amount of £50 had been actually raised, a grant of £25 might be obtained from the provincial treasury. This provision for a fixed grant from the government was, indeed, some encouragement towards the establishment of schools throughout the province. But this Act had several deficiencies. Its application was restricted to districts containing at least 30 families, and wholly rural districts would therefore probably be excluded from its benefits. Nor did it ensure that even the more populous districts should have schools.

Modifications were subsequently made. By the Act of 1826 (Cap. V) it was declared "That a sufficient School House shall be erected, provided and maintained, in every School District." And henceforth assessment was to require a two-thirds instead of a majority vote. The annual provincial grant was to be £2500, of which each of eleven counties and districts might receive up to £180, Cape Breton county up to £220, and the town of Halifax up to £300. The annual provincial grant was increased to £4000 in 1832. And a sum of £70 was to be allotted to any district, having 15 scholars, that should be unable to keep a school; and £5 might be expended to purchase books for the poor children of such a district. In 1836 the School Commissioners were empowered to use a portion of the £70, which was placed at their disposal for the assistance of poor districts, for the establishment of schools for the Blacks, even if a common school had already been established. Not until 1864-5, however, were common schools made legally free, and assessment for their support at last made compulsory. It is plain then that at the beginning of this period the Refugee Blacks and other poor immigrants would not be able to comply with the requirements for the provincial grant for schools. That schools were quickly provided for them meant that they received special aid from the government, as well as aid from other institutions.

Educational developments among the Negroes may be briefly traced. By June, 1816, £100 was appropriated out of the Arms Fund to build a small house for a schoolmaster, with a school room for the use of the Negroes, at Preston; and another £100 from the same fund for a similar purpose at Hammond's Plains.[202] In December, 1820, however, the appropriation for Preston was still uncalled for. In 1818, moreover, William Warren was the Society for the Propation of the Gospel schoolmaster at Preston; and in the next year a Mr. Fletcher was the schoolmaster there.[203] In

202. P.A.N.S., vol. 289, docs. 63 and 79; also Minutes of Council, June 26, 1816.
203. Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

1820 also, James Bell applied for the salary allowed by the government for teaching at Preston. He stated that the coloured people there wished to have their children instructed, but that "being in a state of great indigence" they were incapable of supporting a schoolmaster. He hoped that by a steady application to the improvement of those intrusted to his charge he would merit the approbation of the Lieutenant-Governor. His memorial was signed by thirty-one people of colour who were stated to have 51 children. It was also signed by two Justices of the Peace—T. Chamberlain and James Money. And James Money and John Chamberlain were named trustees of the proposed school.[204] In the same year, Mr. Fletcher became S.P.G. schoolmaster at Hammond's Plains.

About the same time the need for a school at Granville was obvious. A "large settlement" of Blacks had been formed "at the extremity" of the parish there, and plans were made for setting up "several small schools among them."[205]

By 1824, moreover, the school for Black children in the town of Halifax, which was supported by the Associates of Doctor Bray, had re-opened. Mrs. McCormick was its new mistress, and 65 children of colour were admitted in that year.

In the same year the school for coloured children at Hammond's Plains was closed for a short period because of Mr. Fletcher's infirmities and his inability to find a proper successor. Then Henry Petty, who had received instruction at the National School in Halifax, went with an ample supply of books and slates to re-open this school, and to read to the children and their parents on Sundays. Shortly afterwards a Mr. Campbell was appointed to be the schoolmaster at Hammond's Plains. Five years later he was succeeded by Joseph Thomas.

Meantime two Sunday Schools were opened in Preston in 1825; one by Mr. Chamberlain, the other by Mr. Mott. By the end of that year there were 80 children, mostly Blacks, and some adults, in Mr. Chamberlain's school. In the same year Joseph Clarke was appointed schoolmaster at Preston by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. And by 1831 the frame of a new schoolhouse was erected close to the church there. At that time there were 70 children in that area, all more than four miles from any school. In 1838 Will Abbott was the schoolmaster at that settlement.

Dempsey Jourdan was appointed as the S.P.G. schoolmaster for the Negroes at Tracadie in 1818. Archdeacon Willis saw Mr. Jourdan at Antigonish in 1827. Jourdan told him that there were then 30 or 40 Negro families in Tracadie, and that he was looking after their educational needs.

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204. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 22, dated Preston, November 11, 1820.
205. Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

He also gave religious instruction to the children, and read prayers and printed sermons to the members of that community on Sundays.[206]

Other schools were also established. By 1826 John Moody, the S.P.G. schoolmaster at Yarmouth, had organized a Sunday School there for the coloured children. And the schoolmaster for the Negro children at Birchtown in 1829 received an allowance from the Associates of Dr. Bray. So did John Pleasant, a man of colour, who was then the schoolmaster for the Negroes near Digby. There were then two schoolhouses at Birchtown; and Roswell Brown, the schoolmaster, conducted classes in each in turn, or as circumstances required. And a school was opened about 1833 for the Negroes at Sackville.

By 1840 African schools had been established at Preston, Hammond's Plains and, "in an humble way, even at Beach Hill." The average daily attendance at the Preston school in 1851 was 27, while there were reported to be 65 scholars at the Hammond's Plains school.[207] For the year 1861 there were two schools in operation in Preston, and three in Hammond's Plains.[208]

Meantime an African School was established at Halifax in 1836. For several years before that time there had been a great desire among many persons in Halifax to make some provision for the proper education of the people of colour there; and by the beginning of 1836 there were 300 children of colour under sixteen years of age in the town. Efforts towards the establishment of such a school were encouraged by a number of people, including the Right Honourable Lady Sarah Maitland. Contributions were collected in Halifax to the amount of £80 Currency, and in England to the amount of £235 Sterling. A convenient lot of land, in the centre of the coloured population, was purchased for £70 Currency, and a schoolhouse was erected on it, at a cost of £383 Currency. This building contained "a convenient School Room, and sufficient and comfortable apartments for the Master and Mistress, who (were) selected with great care, and (were) particularly well qualified by their attainments, benevolence, and pious and exemplary character, for the charge they (had) undertaken." The school was opened at the beginning of 1836; and in one month 53 day scholars and 93 Sunday scholars were admitted.[209] (Document XV).

In 1838 there were 55 in the day school, and more than thirty in the evening school. Those who attended the evening school, which was held

206. Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; also P.A.N.S., vol. 422, docs. 35-7; and P.A.N.S., vol. 448, Census for the County of Halifax. In *Letters from Nova Scotia*, (London, 1830), Captain W. Moorsom refers to the schools for the Negroes, supported by an English society, the Associates of the late Reverend Dr. Bray, in Halifax, Preston, Hammond's Plains, Shelburne and Digby. (p. 141).

207. P.A.N.S., vol. 452, Census of Halifax County; also vol. 296, doc. 48.

208. Census Report of Nova Scotia, 1860-1, p. 258.

209. P.A.N.S., vol. 292, doc. 134, Petition of Rev. Robert Willis, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, on behalf of the Coloured People in Halifax, February 4, 1836.

on Mondays and Wednesdays, were chiefly "parents and servants", who were "patiently and laudably persevering, from the rudiments of learning, to the reading of the Bible." More of these people would have attended if they could have done so. The school room was then not large enough to hold both the Sunday and day scholars at the same time. During the summer of 1837 more than 50 pounds of wool were purchased so that the schoolmistress might instruct the girls in making necessary articles of clothing. And during the winter of 1837-1838 eighteen children were engaged in knitting.

The benefits of this school were not confined to its immediate vicinity. In March, 1837, for example, with a view to extending its salutary influence, a Sunday school was formed at Beach Hill. Of the thirty-one scholars there, twelve were parents, and only five could then read in monosyllabic lessons. And in order to make this branch-school more efficient, "the person most likely to receive instruction, and profitably impart it to others, was admitted into the school in Halifax." So that he might remain at the Halifax school as long as he could spare time from his home, his board at Halifax was paid for.

The African School in Halifax continued to function although the first school building was destroyed by fire on September 27, 1836. Its income for 1837 amounted to £176/2/2. This consisted of £20 tuition money for scholars; a grant of £100 from the Provincial Treasury; £5 from private subscriptions; and £40 Sterling (£51/2/2), from Doctor Bray's Associates. Its expenditure for that year was £203/2/3. The Master's salary was £111/2/2; the Mistress' was £40. Fuel cost £17/17/11. The other expenditures were for repairs and contingencies.

The subjects taught in 1838 included writing, arithmetic, geography and English grammar; and the girls were also instructed in knitting, spinning, sewing and "other female work."

It was estimated that £255 would be necessary for rebuilding the schoolhouse.[210]

Early in 1840 Dr. Willis depicted the salutary effects produced by this school in the community. He declared that "the benefits of a sound, religious, moral and intellectual education are abundantly manifest in the children and have been by them indirectly conveyed to their parents." "That this amelioration of the general condition of the people of colour in this town must be evident to any one conversant with their history." By that time the Master had begun to teach the most proficient among the boys geometry, navigation and surveying. This training had beneficial results "more especially as it (would) increase the qualifications of the people of colour as seamen; and their aptitude for the service of merchant-

210. P.A.N.S., vol. 293, doc. 104.

sailors (could) be attested by the mercantile community of Halifax." There were then 63 on the day-school register; and since the opening of the African School in Halifax 225 had been instructed within its walls.[211] (Document XIX).

Dr. Willis also stated that a new schoolhouse would have been constructed in the autumn of 1839, "if carpenter's labour had not been monopolized by the building of the Hotel."

In 1841 the need for schools for the coloured people in the other settlements was brought to the attention of the Legislature. And the delay in constructing a new building for the African School in Halifax was attributed to the hope that sufficient money might be raised so that such a building might be adequate also as "a Normal or Training School in which masters might be qualified for the numerous Coloured Settlements in Nova Scotia."

Port La Tour furnished an example of what might be done. In 1840 two or three coloured persons from there had been in Halifax, visited the African School there, and were so impressed with the advantages of knowledge that they returned to Port La Tour and urged the establishment of a similar institution there. The outcome was that "by a laudable union of exertion a school-house was built" at Port La Tour.[212] (Document XXII).

In 1849 Francis Dephort petitioned for aid for the establishment of a school for poor coloured children in Halifax; and in 1859 £10 was granted to aid the coloured population of Bridgetown in completing their schoolhouse.[213] In the latter year, moreover, a bill was passed for the purpose of incorporating the trustees of the Temperance Hall and school-house at Hammond's Plains.[214]

The first Anglican church at Preston was completed and consecrated in the summer of 1791. The mission there was afterwards inactive for a number of years; but it was revived, under the name of Dartmouth, in 1817. And for several years Rev. Charles Inglis conducted services at Preston on Sunday afternoons. In 1823 it was proposed to pull down the Preston Church building, which was reported to be in an inconvenient location, and rebuild it on "a more eligible site," near the crossroads leading to Preston and Cole Harbour. For this purpose the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made a grant of money. Two years later, however, action had not been taken, because of "some local circumstances." William Nisbett was appointed Catechist at Preston by the S.P.G. in 1825. In January, 1836, Rev. A. Parker, of Dartmouth, reported that the Anglican Church held Divine Service at Preston only occasionally, because the

211. P.A.N.S., vol. 296, doc. 48.
212. P.A.N.S., vol. 297, doc. 160.
213. Journal of the Assembly, January 26, 1849, and April 11, 1859.
214. Cap. 73, 1859. And, more recently, the Henry G. Bauld Memorial School was opened at Preston in June, 1948.

congregation was extremely small. As a result of the ministry of Rev. Richard Preston (a former slave) in and around Halifax, the First Preston Baptist Church was organized in 1842. At the time of the taking of the 1851 census there were two churches in Preston.[215]

In 1822 Hammond's Plains was admitted into the Nova Scotia Association of Baptist Churches. This was the first Baptist Church in the province to contain a large number of the African race in its membership. John Burton was the Minister there for some time.[216] Four years later fifty of the coloured people residing there solicited aid from the government for the construction of a place of worship.[217] Their petition was supported by a statement of John Burton, "Minister of the Baptist Church, Halifax." A Church for the coloured people was organized there in 1845. Meantime an Anglican Church was built at Hammond's Plains in 1839, and Rev. A. Gray was the Anglican Minister.[218] By 1851 there were two Baptist Churches and an Anglican Church in that settlement.[219]

Other congregations were also organized. Rev. Charles Weeks, missionary at Guysborough, reported that there were 23 Black families at Tracadie in 1808, including 38 children, 18 of whom could answer any question in the catechism. He also visited this settlement in 1814. Mr. Dempsey Jourdan, who was appointed as S.P.G. schoolmaster there in 1818, gave religious instruction to the children. and read prayers and printed sermons to the inhabitants on Sundays. And in 1822 the construction of an Anglican Church building was commenced there. Rev. Mr. Viets, missionary at Digby, baptized 8 Black infants and 1 adult there, in 1809. His communicants were then 29 Whites and 8 Blacks. In the following year, he baptized 8 Black infants, performed wedding ceremonies for 4 Black couples, and conducted a funeral service for 1 Black person. His communicants for that year included 35 Whites and 4 Blacks. In 1826, 42 Whites and 10 coloured persons were confirmed in that parish. The Legislature of the Province granted £25 in 1841 to aid the coloured people near Liverpool to erect a Chapel for Divine Worship. Meantime in 1832, Richard Preston an escaped slave who had been sent by the Baptists of Halifax to England for further training and ordination, returned to Halifax and assumed charge of the coloured church there. These coloured people then worshipped in Rev. Mr. Burton's Church. This congregation, which was formed in 1832, was the origin of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. A Baptist Church was organized at Dartmouth in 1844 (now the Victoria

215. C. W. Vernon, *Bicentenary Sketches*, (Halifax, 1910), p. 226; Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; P.A.N.S., vol. 452, Census of Halifax County, 1851; George Edward Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, (Saint John N. B. 1946) pp. 130-1.

216. Levy, *The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 93.

217. P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 33; Levy, p. 131.

218. *The Colonial Churchman*, (Lunenburg, N. S.), June 13, 1839, p. 115.

219. P.A.N.S., vol. 452, Census of Halifax County, 1851. Also Census Report of Nova Scotia, 1860-1.

Road African Baptist Church), and one at Beechville in the same year.[220]

Political Rights

The Negroes of Nova Scotia have never been prevented from exercising the franchise by any restriction based on colour. From 1758 to 1918, however, the franchise was "confined to male British subjects by birth or naturalization and, with the exception of ten years, 1854-63, to property holders in some form or other."[221] In 1918 the franchise was extended to women; and in 1920 all assessment or property qualifications were abolished. It would appear then that some of the pre-Loyalist Negroes, and many of the Loyalist Blacks, were qualified to exercise the franchise. Regarding the political rights of the Negroes in Nova Scotia, Dr. T. W. Smith made the following comment: "In 1837 they were fully enfranchised in Nova Scotia; a few years later they were allowed to sit on juries. Their testimony was never rejected in any court in British North America.[222]" This comment seems to have been based upon the occasional statement made by Joseph Howe on February 13, 1866,[223] and Howe may have been referring to the results of the Abolition of Slavery Act (1833) in the British Empire. "Under the operation of general laws, which take no note of color, (the Negroes in Nova Scotia)," Howe declared in 1861, "are, when qualified, and many of them are, entitled to exercise the Franchise and to sit on Juries."[224] It is evident, moreover, that the Negroes in Nova Scotia who held land only by ticket of location could vote; and from shortly after the arrival of the Refugees of the War of 1812 a large number of the Blacks obtained such tickets.[225]

Conclusion

By the time of the winning of responsible government in Nova Scotia (1848), it seemed evident that the Negroes had come into the province to stay. Before the War of 1812 pre-Loyalist Negroes, Loyalist Blacks and Maroons came into this province by the sea. But in 1792 many of the first two groups went to Sierra Leone; and in 1800 virtually all of the Maroons did likewise. Some Negroes remained in Nova Scotia, from which the last vestiges of slavery had disappeared before the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Then, during and immediately after the War of 1812, many who had struck a blow for freedom, or accepted induce-

220. Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Journal of the Assembly, March 9, 1841; Levy, p. 131.

221. D. C. Harvey, "Representation in the Assembly of Nova Scotia," in *Public Affairs*, Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, Summer, 1944, p. 222.

222. *The Slave in Canada*, vol. X of the Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, p. 122.

223. J. A. Chisholm, *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, vol. II, p. 462. Also G. E. Fenety, *Life and and Times of Joseph Howe*, (Saint John, 1896), pp. 298-313; and William Coates Borrett, *Down East*, (Halifax, 1945), p. 89.

224. Joseph Howe, (London), September, 1866, to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, on the subject of Confederation. Photostat copy in possession of Professor Harvey.

225. P.A.N.S., Box—"Crown Lands Peninsula of Halifax, 1840-1845"—Petition of Coloured People of Preston 1841.

ments offered by British naval officers, were brought to Nova Scotia in ships of the Royal Navy. Accustomed only to a warm, southern sun, to slavery and the plantation system, they had had no preparation for a life of freedom, and no familiarity with conditions in lands and climes which were more demanding than their own. Establishment in new surroundings as free men would not have been easy in any circumstances for these people. But literally dumped into Nova Scotia and a free society, by the caprice and vagaries of war, they were bound to encounter hardship. For a time they were maintained in the province at the expense of the British government. Time and again they were given the opportunity of removal to a warmer clime; but, excepting the 95 who went to Trinidad in 1821, they steadfastly declined such offers, for they feared that acceptance meant a return to slavery, and they preferred to remain in Nova Scotia. Then they were left to their own resources, and to the private and public assistance of their white neighbours. Without the latter they could not have survived. Some of them obtained employment in the towns, but most of them received grants of land from the government, and attempted to establish themselves on these tracts. Long before the creation in Nova Scotia of a system of free schools based upon compulsory assessment, schools were provided for the Negroes in the province by the aid of government and other institutions. And the provincial legislature continued to be the main financial support for these schools. In some communities the Negroes attended the same churches as their white neighbours. But in the coloured settlements financial aid from public and private bodies was instrumental in providing church buildings and clergymen. And over a period of several decades the provincial legislature gave financial grants to help them through times of need, whether caused by crop failure or epidemic, to supply them with seed potatoes and other articles, and to increase and improve the amenities of life. Gradually the Negroes became more able to fend for themselves, and to assume a larger share in the life of a democratic community.

Epliogue

Between 1851 and 1941 the Negro population of Nova Scotia has nearly doubled. It was 4,908 in 1851. (Document XXV). By 1871 it had increased to 6,212. Ten years later it reached 7,062. In 1901 it had decreased to 5,984, but in 1911 it was up to 6,452. In 1921 it reached 6,175; in 1931 it was 7,361; and in 1941 it was 8,817.

A number of Nova Scotia Negroes have won considerable distinction. William Hall, the son of a slave, was the first Canadian to win the Victoria Cross, and a Negro branch of the Canadian Legion in Halifax is named in his honour. Sam Langford and George Dixon won their laurels in the prize ring. And Portia White has achieved international fame as a singer. Others might also be mentioned.

APPENDIX I

May it please your Excellency

In consequence of your desire to be informed of what Situation might be found for the accomodation (sic) of such of the people of Colour (lately arrived from the United States) as might be desirous of Settling in the Township of Preston, I have made full enquiry on the Subject and have the satisfaction to assure your Excellency—that from the tracts of Land which have reverted to the Crown by a regular Course of Escheat and a disposition on the part of proprietors of adjoining Lands I shall be able with your approbation to place *two hundred* Families in one connected Settlement favorable for Cultivation & only six and a half mile (sic) distant from the Dartmouth Ferry and one mile and a half from Cole Harbour and 7,3/4 miles from Halifax—Many of these people have viewed these Lands and appear well pleased and satisfied with its (sic) quality & situation and all appear desirous to become immediate Setlers (sic) & to clear part of their Lots & to build Huts for their families to shelter them from the inclemency of the approaching Winter.—the Situation has many advantages peculiarly favorable to those poor people, and if no improper means are resorted to, to discourage the attempt they will I am confident with a little assistance be able to support themselves and afford a considerable supply of greens and Vegetables for this Market—Its proximity to the Capital which affords a ready sale for all the Vegetables Poultry &c they may raise—the quantities of Fish such as Trout, Gaspereau, Eels, Perch which abound in the Lakes & Rivers by which these Lands are intersected—the facility of Supplying this Market, with, laths, shingles, hoop Poles, Brooms, axehelves, oar Rafters, Scantling, Clapboards will invite their industry and afford ample employment for all and means of supporting their Families, and it is a well known fact that the Blacks who were settled in and about Preston at the close of the late Revolutionary War in America had acquired the means of supporting themselves in comfort and became useful Setlers (sic), and continued to thrive until they were allured by offers and persuasions of the Sierra Leone company to quit this Country and embark for that Colony, and the Maroons, from Jamaica who succeeded them—would if they had not been dissuaded and discouraged (by others, from any attempt at cultivation or improvement) have lived in comfort, since the Wild Berries alone which they gathered and sold at this market during their short stay in this Country produced them many hundred pounds which they carried with them.

I would propose that compact Lots be laid out so as to form a village—each Lot to contain about ten acres—and regularly drawn for in the usual manner and that a Reserve of Fifteen hundred acres be made as a Common to afford them fuel, fencing & Building materials when that on their own

Lots is exhausted—and that no Land be confirmed to them by Grant—until they are actually settled and satisfactory proof afforded to your Excellency of their fixed determination to make a permanent Settlement—that some Provisions be allowed them in the proportion granted the Loyalists who retired from the States and made this Country an asylum at the close of the late War in 1783—a few implements of Husbandry to begin with, such as Axes, Spades, Saws, a few Grindstones and Rough Boards to cover their Cabins or for floors—

Thus Situated, near each other, it is natural to suppose they will be much better satisfied & enabled mutually to assist comfort and support each other—than if compelled to take up with situations remote from Market liable to be exposed to many difficulties and suffering thro' a long inclement Winter—& more especially if detached from the Public Roads —Of the Lands proposed for the accomodation (sic) of these people—there are four tracts which the Proprietors are chearfully (sic) disposed to relinquish upon assurance of the like quantities in other Situations and independent of them there is one particularly desirable as it lies in the Centre of the proposed Settlement, and if allowed to remain in its present uncultivated State will seperate (sic) these people from each other and prevent their forming a connected chain of Settlements. this Lot is the property of the Honble. Michl Wallace, was by him purchased at a considerable price in or about the year 1800 but has never been Setled (sic) or Improved and now remains in a Wilderness State—consequently is liable to forfeiture, and had I acted in rigid conformity to your Excellency's directions, this Lot would and ought most certainly to be included in my Report of Lands in Preston for Escheat—but the *enormous* Sum which to my knowledge has been expended by Mr. Wallace on the Dartmouth Shore, and in and thro' Preston in the cultivation and improvement of Lands the Erection of Buildings &c immediately contiguous to this Lot intitle him to every consideration and indulgence that can be shown him consistent with his Majesty's instructions—and I have a confident hope that the same spirit which animated Mr. Wallace in his faithful endeavours to promote by example of Industry and any means in his power the Settlement of Preston at its commencement and while the former Blacks were Seated there—will still continue in favor of these poor Blacks who have a strong claim on our humanity—and that he will with your Excellency's permission Relinguish the Lot which contains one hundred and Sixty acres for Lands Equivalent & which I trust can be provided for him in another Situation— Should the foregoing Project for Settlement of these people meet with your Excellency's approbation—I would most chearfully (sic) undertake the task of superintending the allotment of the Lands without any charge for my Services.

I beg leave to refer to the annexed Plans for your Excellency's further information, and have the honor to Subscribe

Yout Excellency's most Respectful
and devotd Servant
Charles Morris
S. Genl.

6th Sept., 1815
His Excellncy

Lieut. General Sir John Coape Sherbrooke
K. B. Grand Cross Lieut. Governor & Commander in Chief &c &c &c.

P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 76.

APPENDIX II

Report of People off (sic) Colour, at, and about Preston

Names	Women	Children	Names	Women	Children
Thomas Saunders.	1	3	James Parks.....	1	1
Peter Clayton....	1	1	Peter Dunken.....		
Jeremh Garner...	1	5	Jack Thomson....	1	1
Robt Hayenes....			Jacob Paterson....	1	1
Nat Crawley.....	1	2	Richd Smothers...	1	9
Leven Winder....	1		Wat. Brown.....	1	1
Geo. Winder.....	1	1	Richd Gross.....		
Isaac Jones.....	1	4	James Seymour...		
Henry Bisker.....			James Slaughter...	1	2
Henry Taylor....	1	1	Tho. Carter.....	1	
James Darling....	1	2	Danl Clayton.....	1	1
Geo. Tumbler....	1	1	Danl Johnson.....	1	4
Septimus Clark...	1	4	Geo. Carberry.....	1	2
Jacob Clayton....	1	1	Danl Gross.....	1	3
Steven Johns ...	1	2	Travers Teuteston	1	1
Richd Barley.....	1	1	Jerh Page.....	1	
Geo. Smith.....	1	4	Saml Jones.....	1	2
Richd Grant.....			Fielding Johnson..	1	1
Joseph Smith.....			Jacob Hudling....	1	
Jacob Wise.....			Richd Hery.....	1	
Charles Wise.....	1	5	Mechak Deteway..	1	
Danl Muse.....	1	1	Jno. Parker.....	1	3
Abram Brown....	1	1	Joseph Warren....	1	1
Phil. Hawkins....			Cesar Carter.....		
Harry Lee.....	1	4			
Solomon Crawley.	1	2		24 20	33
Wm. Wise.....	1			35 30	64
Parimus Jackson..	1	1			
Joseph Cox.....	1	4			
Geo. Brown.....	1	4	Preston, 30th		
Nat. Leyton.....	1	1	Sept., 1815		
Robt. Flood.....	1		Totl.....59	50	97
Isaac Rowlins....	1	1	Theo Chamberlain		
Betsey Gross.....		5			
Joseph Lane.....	1	3			
Reuben Jordon...	1				
men..35	30	64	Grand		
			Total.. 59	50	97

P.A.N.S., Box—Halifax County Land Grants 1787-1835, doc. 169.

APPENDIX III

Names of Men of Colour who are settled upon Lands conveyed to them by Henry H. Cogswell which Lands are situate at the Head of the North West Arm.

Stephen Couney	1	4
Anthony Williams	1	1
Lewis Munro	1	5
Jack Leale	1	5
Men 4	4 Women &	15 Child.

I do certify upon my honor that the above named persons have been actually employed upon Lands conveyed by me to them ever since the 23d day of October last past
Halifax 2 November 1815

Henry H. Cogswell

(Also a return dated 5 October, 1816, with the same heading as at the top of sheet; but the nos. are of totals 4, 5 and 16. The differences are that Munro and family have 2 women, and Williams and family 2 children.) Vol. 420, doc. 93.

P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 93.

APPENDIX IV

Preston Novemr 11th 1815

Sir

When you suggested to me the 2nd Augt. last the proposal of settling a number of the People of Colour on the escheated Lands in Preston, I readily embraced the Idea as what would be beneficial to the place in general and eventually to myself in particular; it will I doubt not be in your recollection, that on the disbanding of several Regiments in Halifax in 1783 and the retiring of the body of those Regts. to the parts of the Province assigned to them for settlements, the refuse of those Regts. remained behind, a Nuisance in the Streets of the Town; late in the Autumn of that year Governor Parr directed me to take two Hundred of them unto the lands now called Preston, where a settlement had already been begun by a few Loyalists who came here from New York under my direction, to take Provisions both for the Loyalists and those Soldiers and to issue it to them weekly upon condition of their remaining on the Lands which he had ordered me under the direction of the Surveyor General to Survey into Lotts for them. A number of those Soldiers, in the course of the ensuing year left the place, and an Hundred and twenty who remained, together with the Loyalists just mentioned and a few Blacks who had followed the Army—were the Hundred and Sixty-one Persons included in the Grant with me in Decr. 1784. Those Soldiers, confined to these Lands as the condition of receiving Rations, built a few miserable Huts in which they remained eating the King's Provision while any was allowed to them, then sold their lands for a trifle, or abandoned them unsold, as did likewise the above mentioned Blacks on their being inveigled away to Siera Leona, and those Lands have lain now more than Thirty years unimproved to the great discouragement, and very obvious injury of the remaining Settlers, as they are now too few to maintain a tolerable Road through the Township or to attract the notice of the Legislature to give any effectual assisttance towards the doing of it, and being myself a considerable Land holder in the Township and having my children settled about me, I feel perhaps more than any other Individual the disadvantages of the uninhabited state of so great a proportion of the Lands in it. Upon these considerations I had to the utmost of my power promotedthe Escheat of those Lands without asking a Grant of an acre of it for myself—and when the Idea was suggested of settling a number of those People of Colour upon those lands, I entered warmly into it, not only as what would serve to improve the Place in general, and afford assistance to us towards repairing the Roads, but likewise furnish us with Labourers of whom we stand in too much need to make any tolerable progress in our own improvements. I was therefore willing to make considerable sacrifices for the purpose of carrying into effect your Proposal, and what I understood to be the wish of His Excellency for settling them here,—I gave up 400 Acres of land I had purchased

and which lay contiguous to the escheated Lands on condition only of receiving a free Grant of other Lands tho' more remote, and persuaded several Gentlemen who had Lands in a similar situation to do the same, in order to accommodate them with Land to form a more compleat Settlement, and proposed inspecting their work, and issuing their Provisions to them weekly on condition of their going on with it, and though their numbers have increased far beyond what I had at first any Idea of, shall if no allowance can consistently be made for it still persevere in doing so. But there are Dear Sir expences attending the settling and provisioning such a number of People in Preston too heavy for me as an Individual to sustain, or to expect payment of from your private Purse. A survey of the Land intended for them in order to the laying convenient Roads through them has already been made—the Roads necessary have been marked out—upwards of Two hundred Lotts have been set off—and the division Lines of a number of them have been in part run and must before they make improvements upon their Lotts be all of them traced out or they will fall into confusion.

A Store at Dartmouth to receive Provision for them for the Winter, was likewise indispensibly (sic) necessary, which could not be obtained but by hire—and the transporting of their Provisions to Preston which was done for the first Settlers of it among whom there were nothing like the proportion of children, that are among these, was a thing without which there could be no rational prospect of their building Houses in so late a Season of the year sufficient for covering them. Nearly Six Hundred People a greater number of them children than there are of men—placed in the Woods of Nova Scotia in the months of Octr. and Novr. to have their weekly allowance to carry eight or ten Miles on their backs could not in my humble opinion be expected to build houses sufficient to prevent many of them from perishing in the Woods.—I cannot therefore but think His Excellency will see the necessity of having their provision brought up to Preston and to be here issued to them—and I will readily undertake the conveying it hither with my own Teams at Ten per Cent below the usual price of Carriage to be estimated by any of the neighbours who use their Teams on the roads and would rather do it at a rate still lower than risque the consequence of what they would otherwise be exposed to suffer.

I have the Honour to be

Sir Your Obedt Humble Servt,

T. Chamberlain

Honl. Charles Morris
Sur. General

P.A.N.S., volume 419, doc. 41.

APPENDIX V

Report of Lands cleared by the People of Colour in the Settlement of Preston, 9th May 1816

Number of lotts in letter A	Names	Acres Cleared	Remarks	
1	Major Richardson	1/4	Hut built	Able man
2	Isaac Rowlins	..	No Improvement	Ditto
3	WllimMitchel	1/2	Hut built	Ditto
4	Richd Perron	1/4	Ditto	Ditto
5	Jacob Claton	1/4	an old Man	
6	Stephen Johns	1/4	Hut hardly built	
7	Jacob Wise	1/4	Ditto	Able Man
8	Joe Stewart	1/4	Hut built	Ditto
9	Danl Muse	1/4	Ditto	Ditto
10	Henry Gross	1/4	Ditto	Ditto
11	Robt Haynes	1/4	Hut partly built	Ditto
12	Robt Young	1/4	Ditto	Ditto
			The Lotts (sic) from 12 to 19 are barren	
19	Richd Bailey	1/4	no Hut built	Able Man
20	Sam Jones	1/4	Hut built	Ditto
21	Henn Quarey	..	a few Trees cut down no hut built	
22	Jacob Silence	..	Hut partly built	Able Man
23	Peter Craney	1/4	Ditto	Ditto
24	Geo. Turner	1/2	House built	Ditto
25	Jas. Warren	1/2	Ditto	Ditto
26	Geo. Smith	1	Ditto	Ditto
27	Peter Claton	..	no Improvements	Ditto
28	Danl Taylor	1/2	House built	Ditto
29	Wm. Robartson	1/2	Ditto	Ditto
30	Jas. Smith	1/2	Ditto	Ditto
31	Jno. Ward	1/4	Ditto	Ditto

Number of Lotts in letter B				
1	Geo. Winder	1	Hut built	Able Man
2	Geo. Savage	1/4	No house built an Idle Man	Ditto
3	Willm Wise	1/2	Hut built	Able Man
4	Richd Smothers	2	Ditto	an able Industrious Man
5	Chas. Smothers	1/4	no hut built lives with his Father	

6	Richd Grant 1	Hut built	Able Man
7	Nath. Johnson 1/2	no Hut built.....	Ditto
8	James Downing 3/4	Hut built	Ditto
9	Solomon Crawley.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
10	Spencer Bryd 1	Ditto	Ditto
11	Abram Brown.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
12	Isaac Jones 1	Ditto	Ditto
13	Jno. Statton	no Hut built	Ditto
14	Henry Taylor 1/4	Hut built	Ditto
15	Jerry Gardner.....1/4	Ditto	an old Man
16	Jno. Robartson..... ..	Hut partly built	Able Man
17	Ben Johnson 1/2	Hut built	Ditto
18	Fielding Johnson 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
19	Solomon Gunday 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
20	Willy Wily.....		
21	Willm Wise.....		
22	Isaac Kellum.....		
23	Thos. Dine.....		
24	Antony Hunter.....	Hut built	Able Man
25	Edwd Sike.....	Ditto	Ditto
26	Jas. Kener.....	Ditto	Ditto
27	Cal. Cooper.....	Ditto	Ditto
28	Peter Duncan		

Lotts in
the small
Block

1	Moses Wilson 1/2	Hut built	Able Man
2	Anthony Honeycutt....1/4	House built	Ditto
3	Lewis Caste.....	No Hut	Idle Men
4	Sam Luke	Ditto	
5	Nim Carter	Ditto	

No. of Lotts
in Letter
C

1	Jas. Slaughter.....1/2	Hut partly built	Able Man
2	Henry Bisker.....3/4	Hut built	Ditto
3	Robt Flood Henry Pile. 1	Huts built	Able Men
4	Billy Williamson.....1/2	Hut built	Able Man
5	Joseph Cox 3/4	Hut partly built	Ditto
6	Wm. Homes 3/4	Hut built	Ditto
7	Gabl Johnson 1/4	Ditto	Ditto
8	Jno. Robarts.....1/4	Ditto	Ditto

9	Jno. Collins.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
10	Henry Clarke.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
11	Saml Turner..... ..	No Improvements	
12	Jack Johnson.....1/4	Hut built	Able Man
13	Philliman Hawkins.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
14	Henry Becket.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
15	Jacob Hudling.....1/4	Ditto	Ditto
16	Danl Gross..... ..	No Improvements	Ditto
17	Nat. Seyton.....1/2	Hut built	Ditto
18	Dick Gross.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
19	Solomon Robartson....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
20	Cesar Johnson.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
21	Jacob Williams.....3/4	No Hut built	Ditto
22	Will Travers.....1/4	Hut built	Ditto
23	Esau Bowels.....1/4	No Hut built	Ditto
24	Richd Henry..... ..	An Old Man	
25			
26	David Johnson..... ..	Hut built	Able Man
27	Michl Johnson.....		Able Man
28	James Burton.....1/2	Hut built	Ditto
29	Philip Alexander..... ..		
30	Geo. Gibson.....3/4	No Hut built	Able Man
31	Bray Cooper.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
32	Andrew Williamson....3/4	Hut built	Ditto
33	Jack Thompson.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
34	Maraday Stanley.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
35	Genl. Taylor..... ..	Hut built	Able Man
36	Joseph Cooper.....1/4	Ditto	Ditto
37	Jno. Martin.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
38	Wm. Fisher.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
39	R. Robertson.....		
40			
41	Jno. Nelson.....3/4	Hut built	Able Man
42	Jno. Elson.....1/2	Ditto	Ditto
43	Wm. Dear.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
44	Naiths Leach.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
45	Isaih (sic) Butler.....3/4	Ditto	Ditto
46			
47	Gabl Jones.....1/2	Hut built	Able Man
48	Basil Crowd.....1/4	Hut partly built	Ditto
49	Jacob Silence.....		
50	Jno. Gardner.....3/4	Hut built.....	Ditto

Detached Lotts (sic) No.			
1	Shedk Henderson	Hut built	Able Man
2	Jacob Allen	Ditto	Ditto
3	Wm. Bundy	Ditto	Ditto
4	Winslow Sparkes	Ditto	Ditto
5	Henry Lee	Ditto	Ditto
6	Robt & Joe Glasgow	Ditto	Able Men
7	Michl Johnson	Ditto	Able Man
8	Sam Johnson	Ditto	Ditto
9	Wm. Qualem	Hut building	Ditto
10	Leven Winder	Hut built	Ditto
11	Perimus Jackson	Ditto	Ditto
12	Chs. Wise	Hut building	Ditto
13	Nat. Crawley	Ditto	Ditto

No. of lotts in letter D			
1	Friday Bush	A snug house	Able industrious man
2	Henry Woodhouse	Ditto	Ditto
3	Robart Bush	Ditto	Ditto
4	James Bush	Ditto	Ditto
5	Henry Lovet	House building	
6	Moses Seynor	House up	
7	John Woodhouse	..	
8	Augustus Steting	..	
9	Farmr Summerville	A house	industrious man
10	Samuel Lane	Ditto	Able Man
11	Jerry Wilcox	Ditto	Able Man
12	Wm. Greeno	Ditto	Ditto
13	Luke Bowers	Ditto	Ditto
14	Sam Johnson 2nd	Ditto	Ditto
15	Ben Bowers	Ditto	Ditto
16	John Grigory	Ditto	Ditto
17	Arthur Haynes	Ditto	Ditto
18	Philip Lee	Ditto	Ditto
19	Isaac Keeling	Ditto	Ditto
20	Lewis Conner	Ditto	Ditto
21	Wm. Smith	Ditto	Ditto
22	Abram Ross	Ditto	Ditto
23	Dic Richards	Ditto	Ditto
24	Edward Tab	Ditto	Ditto

25	Peter Duncan 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
26	Henry Hill 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
27	Isaac Fletcher Sen. 3/4	Good house	industrious man
28	Isaac Fletcher Jun. 3/4	Good house	industrious man
29	Gen. Taylor 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
30	Joe Sprigs 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
31	Sam Evens 1/2	house	Able Man
32	Aaron Grant ..... "		Old Man
33	Jno. Floid		
34	Allexr (sic) Grant 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
35	Charles Dunmore 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
36	John Shantlen 1/2	house	Able Man
37	Wm. Luns		

No. of lotts (sic)
in letter E

1	Suther Blair 1/2	No hutt (sic)	an able man
2	Thomas Sanders	Hutt (sic) built	an able man
3	George Brown 1/2	Hutt built	an able man
4	James Cooke 1/2	Hutt built	Ditto
5	Richd Bailey 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
6	Billy Williams 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
7	James Markes 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
8	What (sic) Brown 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
9	Wm. Wilson 3/4	Ditto	an old Man
10	Daniel Johnson 1/2	house built	an able man
11	Daniel Claton 1/2	Ditto	Ditto
12	Thoms Yetling	No improvements	

Twelve Vacant lotts (sic)

25	Charles Yetling 1/2	hutt (sic) built	an able man
26	Thomas Carter 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
27	George More 1/2	hutt (sic) building	
28	Wm. McNeath 3/4	hutt (sic) built	an old man
29	Moses Ball 1/2	Ditto	an able man
30	Mishak Delawar 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
31	Septimus Clarke 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
32	Jacob Lamb 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
33	Ruben (sic) Jordan 3/4	Ditto	Ditto
34	Wm. Hopkins 3/4	hutt partily (sic) built	
35	Ralph Toliver 3/4	no hutt built	able man
36	Wm. Ralph 1	Hutt (sic) built	able man
37	Cesar Carter 1/2	Hutt building	an able man
38	Wm. Gilmore 1/2		an able man

No. of lotts (sic)
in letter F

1
2 James Patterson..... no hut built and doing nothing
3 Peter Geffergan..... Ditto Ditto
4 Charles Cephas.....
5 Adam Green..... } lately come on to their lotts (sic)
6 Royal Carter.....
7 Jerred Thomas..... no hut built and doing nothing
8 James Martin..... Ditto Ditto
Lewis Medly.....

In the houses with the other Negroes

Jack Malady
Thomas Binkling } able men

Wm. Brown an infirmed (sic) man
George Balem
John Coats
Peter Emerson
Ben Fuller
John Grant
Peter Goffergan
Ben Solomon
Reuben Walker
Wm Parker Able Men
John Parker
Randle Raset
Augustus Steling
James Martin
Joseph Glasgo
Robt Courner } old men
Jerry Patterson }

Besides these their (sic) are moreover ten Boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age living with their Fathers.

In the whole their (sic) are in Preston 205 able men fit for military duty and any kind of Labour.

7 old men & 10 boys

Preston 10 May 1816

T. Chamberlain

P.A.N.S., vol. 421, doc. 3.

APPENDIX VI

List of Blacks recently brought from the United States of America and Settled on the Windsor Road—viz.

Names of Men	Men	Women	Children	Total
Monday Gold	1	1	3	5
Dick Ford	1	1	3	5
Hoping Bowen	1	1	2	4
Jacob Gold	1	1	3	5
Charles Gray	1	1	..	2
Widow at Boydville	..	1	3	4
Samuel Johnston	1	1	..	2
Moses Obin	1	1	2	4
James Bruce	1	1	3	5
Richard Reeves	1	1	3	5
George Smith	1	1	..	2
Widow at Boydville	..	1	2	3
Widow at Webbers	..	1	1	2
George Carril	1	1	1	3
Total	11	14	26	51

P.A.N.S., vol. 420, doc. 133 (Refugee Negroes 1813 to 1816).

APPENDIX VII

Preston 16th Novr. 1817

Honble Chs. Morris
Sur. Gen.

Sir

Understanding by the Honble. Michael Wallace that the granting lands in compensation for those relinquished by individuals, for accommodating the blacks, and particularly those relinquished by myself is objected to—I beg leave to lay before you the following statement as to those lands, and the relinquishment of them.

It will doubtless be in your recollection that in the month of August 1815, you informed me by letter, that it was in contemplation, to settle a number of the people of Colour, on lands then lately escheated in Preston; and requiring my assistance in pointing out a situation, in which a number of families might be settled in a compleat (sic) village, and in locating them in the most convenient manner possible.

In consequence of this I made without loss of time a plan of the escheated lots that lay nearest together, which happened to be near the main road and from less than one mile to the distance of three miles from my own house. Upon laying this plan before you, by which it appeared that the Hon. M. Wallace, Wm. Lawson Esqr., Mr. Robt. Obrien, Mr. Edwd. Hughes, Mr. Tidmarsh and myself, owned land to the amount of one Thousand Acres, interspersed among the best of those escheated lots, you will I think likewise recollect that you yourself proposed to me to relinquish what belonged to me, and to use my endeavours with Mr. Wallace and the other proprietors of the lands in question to do the same; on condition of receiving a compensation in lands, to be granted us free of expences (sic), by which between two and three thousand acres of land would be laid together nearly in a square body, and most of it fit for Cultivation. With this plan and proposal you waited on Sir John C. Sherbrooke and Mr. Wallace and I were present. His Excellency approved of the proposal and directed me to set immediately about locating the Blacks upon those lands.

In regard to the lands relinquished that which belonged to Mr. Wallace and Mr. Tidmarsh forms the best part of the settlement in front of Wentworth Hill, as you yourself know, and what belonged to me, the best part of that in front of Woodsman's, the largest settlement of the whole; and none of the relinquished lands are inferior in quality to those that were escheated and settled by the blacks.

As to the titles of those relinquished lands, the one hundred and fifty acres relinquished by Mr. Wallace, one hundred acres by Mr. Hughes, and three hundred acres I have relinquished were all purchased of Government

at the Maroon sale by public auction, and held by such titles as we received from Government, which if not good we have a claim in common justice on the faith of Government to see it done, and not permit us to be sufferers by a want of correctness in the titles thus received.

The land relinquished by Wm. Lawson Esqr. he held in right of his wife, Daughter of Mrs. Jno. Lawson (formerly Henderson) who was the original grantee, and that of Mr. Tidmarsh he held in right of his wife to whom it was granted before their marriage; Robt. Obrien's (deceased) was principaly (sic) a grant of land passed 14th Decr. 1784 to me and 163 others.

The representation of my being a monopolizer of land of which you gave me a hint, without being at all anxious as to its author—I do not hesitate a moment to declare it to be a gross falsehood. Tis true indeed that I bought of the disbanded Soldiers that left Preston three lots of 100 acres each, but in the meantime I gave away several small lots, and sold for trifling considerations, several fifty acre lots, to accommodate and encourage settlers; on four of which are good buildings and improvements, and after building the House and outhouses where Mr. Miller is, that at Wentworth Hill where Jordan lives and two smaller houses, and making considerable improvements on Lands about them, sold them and so much land with them, that having relinquished those lands to accommodate the Blacks, I do not at this time possess half so much land as was granted me when I first came into the Province, though two of my Sons have built and improved on my Lands, and two that remain with me are looking forward to no other means of subsistence than from the cultivation of Land. The talk of my monopolizing is more like a burlesque upon me than serious talk. No person can be further from monopolizing than myself. I have been commonly able with constant industry both of myself and my family and by great economy, merely to keep ourselves decently clothed and to supply my table with the simplest comforts of Life, nor can the eager accumulation of wealth in any may be justly chargeable upon me. I have this thirty-four years past been acting in your department and think you will not say you have ever found me using sinister means for that purpose. Having a large family five of them sons born here, and expecting soon to leave them all in a way by honest industry to obtain a comfortable subsistance, and further than that I do not feel at all anxious for them, believing mediocrity to be the safest and the happiest condition of life. A Word more and I will dismiss the disagreeable subject of self vindication.

You have several times intimated to me that I lay under no little reproach for my management of the Maroon concern, such reproach has originated with those who either were wholly ignorant of the part I acted in that concern, or who have wilfully misrepresented it. I withstood with order and perseverance the system of idleness and profusion countenanced

and set on foot by the agents of the Island of Jamaica. And though they had so established their system that it was found impossible ever to retrieve the mischief they did, I endeavoured, and not without a degree of success, at least to prevent fraudulent dealing in the concern, which I would not say for myself, if it was not well known to Gentlemen whose veracity will not be doubted.

Instead of being a sharer in that kind of dealing I saved to Government in the final settlement of the concern, by the detection of attempted frauds, more than the whole that was paid me for my services during the four years that I had the direction of the Maroon affair. I have only to request you will endeavour to have justice done me as to my present concern

And have the honour to be

Sir

Your obedt. humble Servant

T. Chamberlain

What is stated in the foregoing Letter, respecting the Maroon affairs, I have well founded reasons to believe to be correct.

Mich. Wallace.

P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 101.

APPENDIX VIII

The Committee of his Majesty's Council appointed to enquire into the titles of Persons claiming remuneration for Lands relinquished by them for the accomodation (sic) of the People of Color Setled (sic) in Preston —Report as follows—

No. 1—150 Acres of Land the property of the Honble Michael Wallace by deed from the late Lt. Governor Sir John Wentworth Bt, being a purchase at the Public Sale of the Maroon Lands he being the highest Bidder.

No. 2—100 Acres—Do. William Hughes purchased by him at Do.

No. 3—300 Acres. Theophilus Chamberlain — by purchase at Do. the respective Deeds were drafted by his Majesty's Attorney General and are on record in the Public Registry of this Province.

No. 4—William Lawson Esqr. in right of his Wife who derives her title from her mother (formerly Mrs. Henderson) the original Grantee.

No. 5—100—Philip Tidmarsh in right of his Wife the original Grantee.

No. 6—400—Robert O'Brien by Grant—NB all the above tracts of Land were originally contained in a grant of 32,000 Acres to Theophilus Chamberlain & 163 others 14 Decr. 1784.

In order to provide for the immediate reception of the people of Color (or with the least possible delay) and to place them in one regular connected Settlement the foregoing tracts of Land were with the approbation of his Excelly the then Lt. Governor on the suggestion of the Surveyor General proposed to be relinquished by the holders of them to Government—on the express condition that other Lands should be allowed them as are equivalent in the following proportions Viz:

The Honble. M. Wallace	500 acres
William Lawson Esqr	300
William Hughes	300
Theophilus Chamberlain Esqr	500
Philip Tidmarsh	200
Robt. OBrien	400

This proposition haveing (sic) met the concurrence of the Lt. Governor and acceded to by the Parties—it was decided that Warrants should be signed in favor of the above persons, and left in charge of the Provincial Secretary—and when the concerned appeared at his office with the Release of their Land executed in such form as might be prescribed—the Secretary was then to hand them a warrant for the above quantity.

this Mr. Chamberlain did and in such manner as was approved, and his Warrant was accordingly delivered to him—and under this authority the necessary Plans and descriptions were made preparatory to a grant of confirmation to him in lieu of the Land relinquished by him, and which we think in good faith ought to be compleated (sic) and delivered to him without further delay—

The Committee further report that the beforementioned persons have actually relinquished the possession of their Lands to the people of Colour, who have been placed upon them by the directions of Government, and have in many instances made great improvements on them.

That the officers of his Majesty's Government have not prepared the Grants which were to be given to the beforementioned Persons in lieu of the lands relinquished by them for the people of Colour, nor have any of those persons except Mr. Chamberlain, executed the necessary Instruments to invest the Crown with the title to those lands.

And the Committee think that immediate directions should be given to the respective officers of Government to prepare their Grants and to require the necessary conveyances from the parties to invest the Crown with their title.

The Committee however are of opinion that as the Government have taken possession of the Lands and have placed the people of Colour upon them, that the Parties are entitled to their Grants upon conveying to the Crown the title which they had to their Lands at the time they delivered up the Possession of them—as Government has no alternative but to deliver the Grants to the Parties or replace them in the Possession of their Lands.

Charles Morris
Brenton Halliburton

Council Chamber

December 11th 1817.

P.A.N.S., vol. 419, doc. 102.

APPENDIX IX

Licence to Men of Colour at Refugee Hill, 27 March 1818(vol. 419, doc. 36:

By His Excellency Lieutenant General Right Honorable George Earl of Dalhousie Baron Dalhousie of Dalhousie Castle Knight Grand Cross of the most Honorable Military Order of the Bath Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies—&—

Licence is hereby given to the following men of colour to occupy possess and enjoy for and during the term of five years from the date hereof (then if their conduct as industrious peaceable and loyal subjects shall be approved to receive Grants of confirmation from Government) the following Lots of Land on which they are respectively settled, Situate lying and being in the Township of Halifax to the Westward of the Peninsula of Halifax and within the limits of a tract of Land formerly Granted Martin Shier and others in the following Shares or proportions to wit, Unto Abraham Barns the Lot Number One in the division letter A containing ten Acres, unto William Roberts the Lot Number two in said division containing ten acres, Unto Joseph Blackwell the Lot Number three containing ten Acres, Unto Abraham Green the Lot Number four in said division containing ten Acres, Unto David Chain the Lot Number five containing ten Acres. And unto Pompey Cooper the Lot Number one in the division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Benjamin Roberts the Lot Number two in said division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Robert Hamilton the Lot Number five in said division letter B containing ten Acres, unto Hendrick Hamilton the Lot Number six in said division letter B containing ten Acres, unto Aaron Wheeler the Lot Number Seven in said division letter B containing ten Acres, Unto Charles Lovet Senr. the Lot Number Eight in said division letter B containing ten Acres, and unto Charles Lovet Junior the Lot Number nine in said division letter B containing ten Acres, all which several Lots of Land are abutted and bounded according to this Plan.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Halifax this 27th day of March 1818 in the 58th Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.—

Rupert D. George

Part of the Township of Halifax—

(Plan)

APPENDIX X

Preston division letter A Inspected 24th August 1818

Names of the People of Colour Occupying the Lots in said division; these Lots are on the south side of the Main Road

1. Major Richardson
2. No improvement
This man lives at Dartmouth
No person on the lot
Isaac Rawlins
3. William Mitchell
4. This man is very ill
Richard Parron
5. Jacob Clayton
6. George Jackson
7. Jacob Wise
8. Robert Young
9. This man has built his house on lot no. 10 by mistake before the Lines were run
Joseph Stewart
10. Daniel Muse
11. Daniel Thomas
12. House is building
Robert Haynes
13. William Gilmore
14. No house on this Lot but the land is improved by M. Richardson
James Patterson
15. Jacob Allen
16. No House or Improvements on this Lot—allotted to Jno. Coats—he is Dead
17. Very Barren
18. No House or Improvements
This Lot is Barren
Peter Emmerson—Dead
19. Richard Bayley
20. Samuel Jones
21. Henery Quary
22. House Building
Peter Craney 2d
23. Peter Craney 1st
24. George Twiner
25. Joseph Warren
26. George Smith
27. Peter Clayton
28. Daniel Taylor
29. William Robertson
30. Joseph Smith
Not at home
31. John Ward

the Division line of the above Lots from North to South is not run—

Preston division Letter B Inspected 24th August 1818

1. George Winder
2. George Savage
3. Solomon Gunday
4. Richard Smothers & one Double House
5. Charles Smothers
6. Richard Grant
7. Naith Johnson
8. James Downing
9. Solomon Crawley

10. Spencer Boyd
11. William Green Gardner*
12. Isaac Jones
13. John Statton
14. Henry Taylor
15. Jerry Gardner
16. John Robertson
17. Benjn Johnson
18. Fielding Johnson
    No House—this man is at Cole Harbour
    The Lot is improved.
19.
20.
21.

*William Green Gardner omitted in the Plan.

Aaron Grant, Wiley-Wiley } Settled on

46. Arthur Bradley
45. Edward Sike
44. James Kenner
43. Danl Craney—House Buildg abandoned
42. Charles Parker
41. William Wise 2d
40. Isaac Kellum
39. Thomas Dines
38. William Parker
    No House & very little improvement
37. Randal—Occupies this Ho. & Lot
    Mrs. Pleasant Harding claims this Lot
36. No House or Improvements
35. Prince Simmons claims the House is not inhabited
    Robert Burrel occupies the Lot
34. Anthony Moatton
    House Building—no Improvements
33. John Johnson
    no House no Improvements
32. Edward Johnson
    no House no Improvements
31. Jesse Galway
30. Henry Broad
29.
28.
27.
26.

Preston division letter C Inspected 24th August 1818.

These Lots are on the South of the Main Road—& are divided by a New Road running from N. to S. between the Lots—

1. James Slaughter
2. Henry Bisker
3. Henry Piles
4. Billy Williams
5. Willm. Homes & J. Cox
6. George Kerleeny
7. Gabriel Johnson
8. John Robinson
9. Willeby Travers
10. John Collins
11. Henry Clark
12. Samuel Turner
13. Jack Johnson
14. Tilliman Hawkins
15. Ruben Walker
16. Henry Becket
17. Jacob Hudling
18. Nat Seton
19. Richard Gross—Dead

*There are several applicants for this Lot No. 19

20. Solomon Robertson
21. Cesar Johnson
22. Jacob Williams
23. Thomas Bingley

24. Esau Bowers
25. Mark Taylor
no House or improvements
26. Daniel Brook
27. James Burton
28. John Parker
29. Jacob Silence
abandoned
30. Bray Cooper
31. A. Williams
32. Jack Johnson
33. M. Stanley
34. Philip Alexander
35. Seth Johnson
36. Elizabeth Martin (John Morlain—Dead)

50. John Gardner
49. Jerh Page
48. Basil Croud
47. Henry Gross
46. Cox and Homes
no House
45. Isaiah Butler
44. Naith Leach
42. Willm Dean
41. Nelson Johnson
40. } John Nelson
39. }
38. Daniel Drigers
37. Charles Stewart
House Building

Preston—division letter D Inspected 26th August 1818.

These Lots are on the South of the Main Road and are divided by a New Road from North to South along the line of Mr. Putnam's Lands.

1. Friday Bush
The House is on the West Side of the Lot
2. Henry Woodhouse
3. Robert Bishop
4. James Bush
School House—very little improvements
5. Henry Lovel
very little improvements
6. James Seamore
7. Daniel Allen
8. Peter Glasgow
House not finished
9. Samuel Lain
10. Farmer Sumerville
11. Moses Senior
12. Jerh Welcock
13. Willm Greenhouse
a man of bad character
14. Saml Johnson 2d
15. Benjamin Bowers
16. John Grigory

40. Richard Henry Gardner
39. William Lunns
38. General Taylor
37. Charles Dunmore
36. Alexander Grant
35. Edward Tabs
34. Samuel Evens
33. William Jones
32. Joseph Sprigs
31. Isaac Fletcher
30. Isaac Fletcher Junr
29.
28.
27. Peter Duncan
26. Henry Hill
25. John Shankling
24. Richard Richards
23. Abraham Ross
22. William Smith
21. Jacob Ford
20. Lewis Cornie
19. Isaac Keelling
18. Philip Lee
17. Argal Haynes

Preston division letter E Inspected 26th August 1818.

These Lots are on the North of the Main Road

19. 18. 17. 16. 15. A swamp

14. Thomas Yutling
no House—lives with his father

13. Daniel Clayton
12. William Wilson
11. James Sparks
10. Moses Ball
9. Septimus Clark
8. William Williams
7. George More
6. Jacob Blan
5. James Cook
4. George Brown
3. Thomas Saunders
2. Suther Blair
1. Anthony Baker
no House or Improvements a half Lot

20. Samson Carter
21. James Hamilton
22. Royal Carter
23. George Roach
24. Caesar Carter
no House or improvements
Side lines not run

25. Charles Yutling
26. Thomas Carter
27. Cooper Jones
28. William Thomson
29. William McNeith
30. Meshac Delaware
31. Watt Brown
32. John Floyd
33. William Thomas
34. Thomas Quinto
35. Daniel Johnson
36. Ralph Tolivere
37. William Hopkins
38. William Ralph
this House near Bells

Preston division Letter F Inspected 26th Augt. 1818.

Wentworth Hill

Sterns Moses Wilson in Gaol Richards

Church Anthy Honycut

Crane Smith Robert Glasgow

Traverse Truckson—no House or improvements

Joe Glasgow no House or improvements

Lake Loon Division

G Inspected 26th Augt. 1818

this Lot is in two parcels detached from each other one part is not yet surveyed.

1. Siven Winder
2. Perimus Jackson
3. Charles Wise
4. David Page
5. William Wise
6. Abrm Brown
House Building
Lot Improved

Small Lots—Town Plot of Preston (in rear of Mr. Chamberlain's)
division letter H Inspected the 26th Augt. 1818

1. William Kellum
not at home
2. Samuel Johnson
3. Michael Johnson
4. Henry Lee
& House is built on Motts Land
5.
6. Winslow Sparks
7. William Bunday (Bundie)
8. Hy Lee Junr—no House
9. Shedrick Henderson
10. William Redman

These Lots are on the East Side of Salmon River & North Side of the Bridge

Preston division Letter I Inspected the 25th August 1818.
Salmon River Lake
Common for a Fishing Place

1. Green Junr
no House or improvements
2. Adam Green
3. Peter Goffergon
no House—very little improvements
4. Charles Sephas
5. James Martain
no House—very little Improvts

Barrans (sic)

6. Joseph Delain Side lines not run
7. Joseph Lewis

division K Inspected the 25th August 1818

Lake Porter

these Lots are on the East Side of **Lake Porter** Lots No. 1 & 2 are bounded by Porter's Lake on the West—Lots No. 3, 4 & 5 are bounded on the West by the Road to Chezzetechook (sic)—

5. Lewis Medly
no House or Improvements
4. James Wallace
no House or Improvements
3. Henry Brown
no House or Improvements
2. Isaac Anderson North Lot on Lake Porter
1. John Lynch South Lot on Lake Porter

P.A.N.S., volume 419, doc. 90.

APPENDIX XI

Licence men of Colour

By the Earl of Dalhousie

License of occupation at Hammond's Plains for the following:— The following lots on which they are respectively settled—

Charles Gigge—lot No. 1—(in the western division of ten acre lots letter C)
Frank Ross—No. 2.
Dick Ross—No. 3.
Cephas Cooper—No. 4.
Sandy Cooper—No. 5.
Sandy Pares—No. 6.
Robert Hamilton—No. 7.
Richard Hamilton—No. 8.
Kitness Hamilton—No. 9.
Jacob Hamilton—No. 10.
Anthony Hamilton—No. 11.
Shead Hamilton—No. 12.
Henry Williams—No. 13.
Reuben Hamilton—No. 14.
Jeremiah Johnston—No. 15.
Rob Roe—No. 16.
Godfrey Davis—No. 17.
Ben Jackson—No. 18.
Samuel Cooper—No. 19.
Caleb Cob—No. 20.
Quack Cooper—No. 21.
Maranette Cooper and Pedro Nero —No. 22.
March Murvill—No. 23.
John Thomas—No. 24.

And unto

Brutus Maguish—lot No. 1 (in the division of ten acre lots letter C)
Isaac Grant—lot no. 2.
Francis Grant—No. 3.
Henry Bailey—No. 4.
Charles Jackson—No. 5.
Donkin Massey—No. 6.
Quack Mantle—No. 7.
Robert Bingley—No. 8.
George Hamilton—No. 9.
Thomas Mashorman—No. 10.
Brass Hamilton—No. 11.
Richard Hamilton—No. 12.
Quash Hamilton—No. 13.
Pierre Vance—No. 14.
Peter Piere—No. 15.
Newman Brackenbury—No. 16.
Joseph Graham—No. 17.
Alexander Cooper—No. 18.
Liscomb Cooper—No. 19.
Lennin Cooper—No. 20.
Lash LaCort—No. 21.
George Coppey—No. 22.
Samuel Jenkins—No. 12.
Nero Matthews—No. 24.

And unto—

Maringo Butler—lot no. 1 (in the northern division of ten acre lots letter B)
Jeffrey Howe—No. 2.
John Jenkins—No. 3.
Patrick Bailey—No. 4.
Quash Cooper—No. 5.
Deal Wiley—No. 6.
April Cooper—No. 7.

Unto

Sampson Butler—lot No. 1 (in the southern division of ten acre lots letter B)
William Housman—No. 2.
Cesar Wiley—No. 3.
Joseph Wiley—No. 4.
Henry Hamilton—No. 5.
Reuben Wiley—No. 6.
July Cooper—No. 7.

Unto

William Butler—lot No. 1 (in the western division of ten acre lots letter A)
Francis Butler—No. 2.
George Gigge—No. 3.
Joseph Davis—No. 4.

Unto

William Butler—lot No. 3 (in the Eastern division of ten acre lots letter A)
Isaac Butler—No. 4.
William D. Butler—No. 5.
Hector Butler—No. 6.
Joseph Butler—No. 7.
John Lee—No. 8
George Butler—No. 9.
Abraham Butler—No. 10.

P.A.N.S., volume 419, doc. 119.

APPENDIX XII

Return of the Black American Refugees residing at Hammonds Plains

	Names	Women	Males under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Females under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Total	Trinidad written opposite to the Names of those who are desirous of going to Trinidad
Old Road	Parry Brown	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	5	
	Richard Fitzhue	1		3		3	1		9	
	John Butler	1		1					3	
	Simeon Cochran	1							2	
	John Tyson	1	2						4	
	Henry King	1		1					3	Trinidad
	William Palmer	1					1		3	
	Isaac Butler	1	1	1	1			1	6	
	Francis Butler	1				4			6	
	Willm Days	1				2			4	
	Charles Stewart	1	1			1			4	
	George Gingham	1	1	2	4				9	Trinidad
	John Carolina								1	Ditto
	Joseph Davis	1	2			1			5	
	Hector Butler	1	1			2			5	
	Joseph Butler	1	2						4	Trinidad
	Kato Lee	1	1			1			4	
	George Butler	1	2						4	
	Simpson Fox	1						1	3	
	York Forrester	1							2	Trinidad
	Joseph Pencil								1	
Annapolis Road	Aplo Solmit	1	2						4	
	Charles Arnold	1			1		1	1	5	
	Abr. Butler	1						1	3	
	George Tailor	1	2						4	
	Brister Mot	1			1				3	
	Dom De Broker	1	1				2	1	6	
	John Newton	1							2	
	John Hamilton 2d	1		1					3	
	Antwine Goodry	1							2	Trinidad
	Dolly Lee				1	1		4	1	
	Jubah Wallace				1			1	3	

	Names	Women	Males under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Females under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Total	Trinidad written opposite to the Names of those who are desirous of going to Trinidad
Annapolis Road	Andw Smith	1	1				1		4	
	Hope Maxwell James Sanders	1	2						5	
	Brister Webb	1							2	Trinidad
	Aplo Pier	1							2	Trinidad
	John Grigaw	1							2	Trinidad
	John Mersy	1							2	
	John P. Petion	1	1			1			4	
	James Mitchell	1				2			4	Trinidad
	Charles Randle								1	
	Brister Wearing	1					1	1	4	Trinidad
	Jesse Parker	1	1						3	
	Rodger Cooper	1							2	
	Peter Ryan	1	2						4	
	Nasseus La Coss	1							2	
	George Copy	1	1						3	
	John Battist	1	1			2			5	
	John Larama	1				1			3	
	John Lewie								1	
	John Cooper	1							2	
	Peter Hamilton	1	1						3	
	Peter Verrice								1	Trinidad
	James Allison	1							2	
	March Movile	1						1	3	Trinidad
	Samuel Jenkins	1							2	
	John Hamilton 3d	1							2	
	John Thomas	1	1						3	
	Nora Mathews Dolly Mathews	1	1			1			5	
	George Fransiva	1							2	Trinidad
	Benj Days								1	
	Robn Cunard								1	
	————Jessama								1	
	Josh Pollodore								1	

	Names	Women	Males under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Females under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Total	Trinidad written opposite to the Names of those who are desirous of going to Trinidad
Annapolis Road	Ab Cunard								1	
	Richd McIntosh								1	Trinidad
	Rosa Glosting	1							2	
	MIDDLE STREET									
	Fredk Bailey								1	
	Quashy Cooper Sr.	1	1	2					5	
	Colly Cooper	1	2			1			5	Trinidad
	John Lamo	1	1				1		4	
	Samuel Cooper	1	2						4	
	Lennon Cooper	1							2	
	Benj Jackson								1	
	Liston Cooper	1	1						3	
	Phoebe Cooper								1	
	Josh Grimes	1		1					3	
	Toney Hamilton	1		1	1		1		5	
	Godfrey Davis	1	1						3	
	Newman Brookinbery	1	1						3	
	Robert Rowe / Judith Parker	1	1						4	
	Josh Johnson / Mary Parker	1	1			3			7	
	Peter Peir								1	
	Ruben Hamilton	1	1	1	1		2		7	
	Nassau Jackson	1	1	1		1			5	Trinidad
	Quashy Hamilton	1			3	2	1	2	11	
	Richard Hamilton					1	1	1	4	Trinidad
	Shed Hamilton	1	1	1					4	
	Brass Hamilton	1						1	3	
	Thoms Hosterman	1							2	
	Chs Stubberfield	1				2			4	
	John Hamilton 1st	1		1					3	
	Ketmes Hamilton	1			2				4	
	Robt Hamilton	1			1				3	
	Alex Harrison	1	1					1	4	Trinidad
	George Hamilton	1							2	

Names	Women	Males under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Females under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Total	Trinidad written opposite to the Names of those who are desirous of going to Trinidad
Robert Bingley								1	
Peter Basama	1	1						3	
Quashy Mantly	1				2	1		5	
Michl William								1	Trinidad
John Watts								1	
Richd McCarty								1	
Charles Jackson	1	1						3	
Duncan Meroy	1							2	
Henry Baily	1		2		1			5	
Sandy Cooper	1							2	
Sippio Cooper	1	2	1					5	
Richd Ross	1				2	1		5	
Cock Ross								1	
Frank Grant	1							2	
Isaac Grant Sr.	1	1						3	
Judith Been			1			1		3	
Frank Ross	1	1			2			5	
Charles Giggy	1			1				3	
Thos McNeish	1			1				3	
Isaac Grant Jr.	1							2	
Robert Cooper	1							2	
Lewis Stewband	1				2			4	
Danl Goffigan	1	1			1			4	
Jesse Carter	1	2						4	
William Griffin	1			1	1		1	5	
Robert Grant	1							2	
Mark Young	1							2	Trinidad
Jos McClew	1	1		2				5	
April Cooper	1				1	1		4	Trinidad
March Cooper								1	Do.
July Cooper	1	1			1	1		5	
Ruban Wiley	1	2						4	
Deal Wiley	1		1		1			4	
Quashy Cooper Jr.	1	1			1			4	
Josh Wiley	1		1			1		4	

Names	Women	Males under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Females under 7 years of age	Do. under 14 years of age	Do. above 14 years of age	Total	Trinidad written opposite to the Names of those who are desirous of going to Trinidad
Henry Hamilton								1	
Patk Bailey	1	1			1			4	
Gabriel Jenkins	1	1						3	
Cesar Wiley								1	Trinidad
John Jenkins	1		1				1	4	
William Marshman	1				1			3	
Jeffrey Howe	1	1			1	3		7	
Sampson Butler	1	1			1			4	
Gabriel Manigo	1			1	1	1	1	6	
John Brown								1	
					Total			464	
Wally Wiley								1	Trinidad
La Fortune								1	Trinidad
George Rantham								1	Trinidad
Rose Rushley							1	2	
					Total			469	

P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc 19.

APPENDIX XIII

Land grant of the 20th October 1834

In consideration of the sum of Sixty pounds Nova Scotia currency, a grant was made to William Day, Abraham Smith, Hector Johnson, Cuffee Gray, Sampson Brown, Jack Harris, S. Hamilton, Gabriel Manigo, Cato Manigo, Andrew Smith, James Ellison, Joseph Holmes, Newman Brackenbury, Joseph Graham, Thomas Brunt, Charles Jackson, Alexander Emerson, Lawrence Hamilton, Patrick Bailey, Joseph James, William Marshman, July Cooper, Deal Wiley, Frederick Davis, Lewis Stewben, Israel Mott, Edward Price, William Marshman Junr., Peter Jenkins and Reuben Davis, all of Hammond's Plains, people of colour, six hundred acres of land, which is contiguous to the Black Settlement at Hammond's Plains; together with all Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining; . . . granted . . . unto the said Grantees as tenants in common . . . they yielding and paying for the same . . . one Peppercorn of yearly rent on the 25th day of March in each year, or so soon thereafter as the same shall be lawfully demanded . . . reserving to the Crown all minerals.

P.A.N.S., Vol. 419, doc. 120

APPENDIX XIV

No. of lots in Hammond's Plains

No. of lot	Originally assigned to	By whom occupied	By whom owned
1	Richard Fitsrie	do.	do.
2	Joseph Pence	Wm. Leigh	do.
3	Charles Steward	none	Easter Steward
4	Henry King	none	John Butler
5	Samuel Butler	none	Wm. Days
6	Francis Butler	none	Mrs. Gingam
7	George Gingam	Mrs. Gingam	do
8	Joseph Davies	none	Edwd Brice
9	Samuel Brown	do	do
10	Wm. March	do	do
11	Ceaser Wily	do	do
12	Joseph Wy	none	Hannah Wily
13	Henry Hamilton	none	Wm. Sawyers
14	Rubin Wily	Charles Parker	do
15	July Cooper	do	do
16	March Christopher	none	Mrs. Fowler
17	Emanuel Griffin	none	Deal Wily
18	Daniel Goffagan	do	do
19	Lewis Stuban	do	do
20	Robert Cooper	Henry Piles	do
21	Charles Giggy	do	do
22	Francis Ross	none	Agnes Ross
23	Richard Ross	do	do
24	Scipio Cooper	none	Scipio Cooper
25	Alexr Cooper	none	Scipio Cooper
26	Alexr Pasco	none	Rose Hamilton
27	Robert Hamilton	none	Mrs. Jinkins
28	Richard Hamilton	none	Lawrence Hamilton
29	Kindness Hamilton	Rose Hamilton	do
30	John Hamilton	do	do
31	Anthony Hamilton	Lawrence Hamilton	do
32	Shed Hamilton	do	do
33	Henry Hamilton	Esau Jackson	do
34	Rubin Hamilton	do	do
35	Jeremh Johnson	do	do

No. of Lot	Originally assigned to	By whom occupied	By whom owned
36	Robt Roe	George Jackson	do
37	Godfrey Davis	do	do
38	Benjn Jackson	do	do
39	Saml Cooper	do	do
40	Edd Cup Senr	Edd Cup Junr	do
41	Squash Cooper	none	Saml Cooper
42	Nearo March	none	Wm. March
43	March Movil	none	Esau Jackson
44	John Thomas	none	Rynah Thomas
45	Robt Nory	Thos Brunt	do
46	George Coppy	Jesse Parker	do
47	Naseus Lampeat	none	Rynah Thomas
48	Leonard Cooper	James Watts	do
49	Lestan Cooper	Ester Steward	do
50	Alexr Cooper	Phoebe Lee	do
51	Joseph Grimes	do	do
52	Newan Brokenberry	do	do
53	Peter Peer	none	Rubin Hamilton
54	Squash Hamilton	none	Andrew Smith
55	Richd Hamilton	none	Liddy Hamilton
56	Brass Hamilton	none	Hector Johnson
57	Charles Stubblefield	Esau Jackson	Abraham Smith
58	George Hamilton	Henry Bailey	do
59	Robt Bingly	none	Charles Jackson
60	Duncan Masse	none	July Cooper
61	Charles Jackson	none	Charles Jackson
62	Henry Bailey	none	Pompy Bailey
63	Francis Grant	none	Deal Wily
64	Isaac Grant	none	Isaac Grant
65	Brittus McNish	none	Isaac Grant Junr
66	April Cooper	Kato Manago	do
67	Deal Wily	do	do
68	Quash Cooper	Charles Jackson	Henry Piles
69	Pat. Bailey	do	do
70	John Jinkins	Joseph James	do
71	Jeffry Howe	Wm Brown	Alexr Howe
72	Gabriel Butler	none	Gabriel Manago
73	Abraham Smith	do	do
74	George Butler	John Worrell	Wm March
75	Kato Lee	none	Wm Arnold

No. of Lot	Orginally assigned to	By whom occupied	By whom owned
76	Joseph Jerry	Edward Price	do
77	Hector Johnson	do	do
78	Wm Days	do	do
79	Isaac Butler	none	Wm Days
80	Simon Cochrane	none	Simon Cochrane
81	John Butler	do	do
82	Susanah Fowler	none	John Butler

Sirs

The within is a list of the names who has (sic) been regularly settled by Government since which time I believe about 24 Families has (sic) settled themselves on lots for which they have no card neither are they included in this—You will find in the first colum (sic) the names of the persons who was (sic) settled by Government in the Second you will find the names of those that now lives (sic) on the lot with the number of the lots vacant and on the Third Colum (sic) you will find the name of the person owning the lot whether vacant or otherwise—The people are well satisfied to assist in running the lines whenever it will please you to call upon them

I am Sir

Your

Obt Hble Servt

Joseph Thomas

NB If there should be any other information wanted I shall be very happy to attend to any call from you

Hammond's Plains June 17th 1835

P.A.N.S., Box—Halifax County Land Grants—1787-1835. Doc. 185.

APPENDIX XV

To the Honorable the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, now convened at Halifax.

The Petition of the Reverend Robert Willis, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, on behalf of the Colored People in Halifax.

Humbly Sheweth,

That for some years past there has been an anxious desire among many persons in this community, which was particularly encouraged by the Right Honorable Lady Sarah Maitland, to make some provision for a suitable education of the People of Color in Halifax, the number of whose Children, under sixteen years, now amounted to three Hundred.

That in pursuance of this charitable object, Contributions to the amount of Eighty Pounds Currency, have been obtained in Halifax; and to the amount of Two hundred and thirty five Pounds, Sterling, in England.

That a convenient lot of Ground, in the Centre of the Colored Population, has been purchased, at an expence (sic) of Seventy Pounds Currency; and a School House erected thereon and completely finished, at an expence of Three hundred and eighty three Pounds Currency:—That the Building contains a convenient School Room, and sufficient and comfortable apartments for the Master and Mistress, who have been selected with great care, and are particularly well qualified by their attainments, benevolence, and pious and exemplary character, for the charge they have undertaken.

That the School was opened at the commencement of the present year, and in one month, Fifty three daily Scholars, and Ninety nine Sunday Scholars were admitted;—which number will probably be greatly increased, when more can be received; as it has been judged necessary to the perfect organization of the School, and its good order and regularity, that Scholars should be received only in the first week of January, April, July and October.

That all the cost of the Ground and Building has been paid, with the exception of a balance of Eighty Pounds, due to the Carpenter and Mason. And a small Salary to assist in the support of the Master and Mistress, has been procured from a benevolent Association in England, whose efforts are principally directed to the benefit of People of Color. But that the debt of Eighty Pounds now due, cannot be paid, nor the comfortable support of the exemplary Master and Mistress provided for, unless some farther assistance can be procured.

That under these circumstances, the People of Color in this town, naturally turn to the Provincial Legislature, who have ever been ready to assist the instruction of the Poor--and with an humble hope, that while successful efforts are made throughout the British Nation, to raise their race from the degradation to which they have been exposed for ages, there will be no want of inclination in the General Assembly of Nova Scotia to

contribute to the permanent improvement of their condition, by aiding the efforts now charitably made for the Instruction of Colored Children, that they may fill their humble stations with credit to themselves, and advantage to the Community; and be assisted by religious Knowledge in their progress towards that Kingdom, which has been prepared by infinite Mercy for the faithful and obedient children of God, of every Country, and of every Race.

That your Petitioner abstains from entering into a particular description of the method and order observed in the School, from an hope, that some Members of your Honorable Assembly, will benevolently visit the Institution, and make a report of its present condition.

And, as in duty bound, your Petitioner will ever pray.

Robert Willis

Halifax, February 4th 1836

P.A.N.S., volume 292, doc. 134.

APPENDIX XVI

NEGROES

P.A.N.S., Volume 115; pp. 56-7; C. Campbell to Lord Glenelg; August 25, 1837:

It will probably be in your Lordship's remembrance that in 1814 a large number of Refugee Slaves were brought to this place from the United States by the orders of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane.

They were settled in the neighbourhood of Halifax, and for the first two years received rations from Government; but they have since been in a great measure dependent on the charity of the Inhabitants of this Town and the County of the Provincial Legislature.

It was soon found that this climate was ill adapted for them, and that they never could prosper here,—the lots on which they were placed being of very small dimensions, and miserably sterile. His Majesty's Government, therefore, benevolently offered in 1820 to convey them to *Trinidad*, to which Island they had been invited by the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford; but of this offer only 80 *or* 90 chose to avail themselves. It was hoped that, on hearing of the kind reception which these met with at Trinidad, the rest would be disposed to follow, and many did in fact express such an inclination at first;—but on the arrival of a Transport with orders to take them there, they one and all refused to go, influenced, it is thought, by the absurd apprehension, which it was not found possible to remove, that it was intended to return them to their old masters, or to make them Slaves again in the West Indies.

The same offer has at different periods, and since the passing of the Emancipation Act, been renewed,—but wretched as their condition is and must, I apprehend, continue to be here, has always been resolutely rejected. Here, they are determined to remain: nor will they consent as I have proposed, to be distributed in detachments, in different parts of the Province, where good land might be provided for them, and where, with the assistance of the wages which they might occasionally obtain as Laborers, they, with industry, might earn a comfortable livelihood. But about 100 or 120 of the 250 families, of which this population consists are willing to proceed in a body to some other part of the Province.

These poor people being in the early part of last Winter in a more destitute condition than usual, I took occasion to bring their unhappy case under the consideration of the Council and Assembly, in a message, of which I inclose a copy; and a Committee of the House having in consequence visited the several Black Settlements the enclosed resolution was subsequently presented to me.

As they persist in their refusal to remove, except in a large body, I required the Surveyor General to point out the most eligible site for the location of about 100 families and to furnish an estimate of the expense

of laying out Lots for them. In the letter from him, which I have the honor to transmit, that expense is reckoned at about £100; but, with the assistance which each family will require towards building a hut, and for its support for the few first months, the whole charge incident to their removal will probably amount to about £500 or £600.

These refugees have already occasioned so much expense to the Province, (into which they were introduced as Paupers, and against the desire of the Inhabitants), that the Assembly will undoubtedly decline to advance the sum required for the purpose. Without assistance, therefore, from His Majesty's Government, or some other source, these unhappy people must continue to remain in their present pitiable condition. I am induced, therefore, to express a hope that, as H.M. Government have already, on more than one occasion, expressed their readiness to defray the expense of conveying them to and settling them in another Colony, they will not now be indisposed to extend their bounty in another shape and bear the charge of transferring them from the barren lands on which they are now living to a better part of the Country, where the fruitful Soil would stimulate them to those industrious habits which have been discouraged by the unproductive nature of the land on which they are now settled.

Should Your Lordship approve, as I earnestly trust you will, of lands being allotted for them in the situation specified by the Surveyor General, or elsewhere, as may be deemed expedient, and place a sum of money at my disposal for this object, it shall be my care to appoint a competent Committee of Gentlemen to make the necessary arrangements for their removal and location, with the strictest economy.

APPENDIX XVII

NEGROES—1837

Glenelg to Campbell, 25 Oct. 1837; P.A.N.S., vol. 75; 255-262; also vol. 422, doc. 50:

I have received your Dispatch No. 92 of the 25th August bringing under my notice the state of the Refugee Slaves who in 1814 were removed from the United States and became Settlers in Nova Scotia, & recommending that you should be authorized to transfer as suggested by the House of Assembly these People from their present sterile locations to some other part of the Province where more fruitful Lands belonging to the Crown might be given to them for their support.

I need not assure you that it would afford me much pleasure to have it in my power to improve the unhappy condition of these Blacks. The mode however in which you propose that this should be done is open to serious & I fear insuperable objections.

The free gift of any part of the Waste Lands of the Crown would involve a departure from the spirit as well as the letter of the present Land Regulations, to the strict observance of which the faith of Her Majesty's Government has been so repeatedly pledged. Her Majesty's Government feel that they would not be justified in sanctioning any infringement of those Regulations excepting in cases where satisfactory proof could be adduced that the Public interest imperatively required their relaxation. In the present instance no such proof is afforded. On the contrary the measure is merely an expedient for the relief of these People, the principle as well as the success of which seems to be very doubtful. It is assumed that their possession of a fruitful soil would stimulate them to industry. But it does not appear why the pressure of necessity accompanied by facilities, which, from their being located near large towns I presume must exist for procuring employment & consequent maintenance by their labor, has not hitherto proved a sufficient stimulus to their industry. If the want & privations from which they have so long suffered have not furnished sufficient inducement to active and industrious habits, I should fear that the mere occupation of rich Land would fail of that effect. The proposed scheme appears to me directly calculated to cherish the mistaken & mischievous notion, that if they are to subsist at all, it must be as proprietors of Land and not as Laborers for hire.

The adoption of your proposal I perceive would be attended by *another difficulty*. I refer to *the Expenditure* which would be required to enable those People to remove to their new locations and to commence their operations. There are but two sources from which funds could be derived for that purpose either the Colonial Revenue or the Imperial Treasury. After the liberality which has already been extended by the Assembly

towards these People, I cannot assume that they would consent to appropriate any more of the Public money for their benefit. With regard to applying to the Imperial Parliament for a Grant for this purpose, Her Majesty's Government feel that they could not consistently do so, without establishing a most inconvenient precedent, & exciting expectations which could not be realized amongst a class of Settlers in some of the British Colonies whose improvidence has reduced them to great poverty & distress.

The information however to be collected from your Dispatch is not sufficient to enable me to arrive at a definitive decision on the subject. I would wish you to institute enquiries in order to ascertain

1. Whether these Blacks enjoy the same means of obtaining in the vicinity of their locations, a livelihood, in common with others of the laboring class, by their own exertions.

2d. If that should not be the case, whether other parts of the Province do not offer an eligible opening for their employment as Laborers.

& 3d. Whether in that case the Assembly would be disposed to vote a moderate sum to enable the parties to transfer their Labor to those Districts.

APPENDIX XVIII

Memorial of John Chamberlain, Alexander Lyle, Alexander Farquharson, Frederick Major and Allan McDonald—Dartmouth, June 8, 1838.

. . . Reside in the neighbourhood of the people of colour settled in Preston . . .

That the land on which these people are located, was granted as early as the year 1784 but was abandoned by the original proprietors, and laid (sic) in a wilderness state untill (sic) the year 1815, at which time it was escheated, and divided into lots containing from seven to ten acres, on which the Blacks were settled.

That these lots are too small for a family to subsist in this country, if the land was of a fertile quality, but with very few exceptions these lands are sterile and unproductive in the extriam (sic); insomuch that it would be impossible for any persons to support families on them—And no class of settlers, let their habits be ever so industrious could possibly maintain their families on lots of the same size and quality, without being reduced to suffering and perhaps to starvation.

That there is no part of the Province where employment as labourers can be obtained as readily as it can in Halifax and its vicinity—but the general want of manufacturing establishments is such that it is difficult for labourers to procure constant employment even in summer; and during the winter parts of the year which generally extends (sic) from the middle of November to the middle of April, no employment as labourers can be depended on—And it is well known that there are numbers of the white labouring people, who are engaged in the fisheries during the summer who spread themselves throughout the country, and labour the whole winter for no other compensation than their food.—Besides this persons very generally prefer white labouring people to the Blacks by which these unfortunate people have not an equal chance of obtaining their share of even the little labour that is wanted.

That from these causes and others that might be mentioned, it is wholly out of the power of the Coloured people to maintain their families as labourers,—or to keep them from absolute starvation unless they have some other dependance—

That these people have heretofore rendered their poverty less distressing, by marketing charcoal, staves, shingles and such other lumber as their limited quantity of land enabled them to procure—but these are now generally exhausted, and many of them have not sufficient wood for fuel;—insomuch that there has already been much suffering among them for that article.

That the poverty and distress which they have been now subject to for a number of years—And the poor return they have received from the labour

on their lands, has been such as to dishearten them, and this may be the occasion of much of the indolence that is to be observed in some of them, as well as the habit of beging (sic) to which so many of them are addicted. But Memorialists cannot discover any thing about these people, by which would appear, that they were incapable of arising to a comfortable independance if they had any fair opportunity of so doing.

And that their suffering this last winter has been more severe than Memorialists could give your Excellency an adequate description of, and there is reason to fear that some of them has (sic) actually starved to death.

Whereupon Memorialists humbly prays (sic) that your Excellency will take the whole premisses into wise consideration, and use such means in behalf of these unfortunate people as may be in your Excellencys (sic) power . . .

P.A.N.S., vol. 422, doc. 49.

APPENDIX XIX

NEGROES—1840

The Petition of the Reverend Robert Willis, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church in behalf of the Coloured People of Halifax.

Humbly Sheweth,

That your Petitioner in presenting this his fifth Petition on behalf of the African School respectfully tenders the expression of his gratitude for the kind notice and support which the Institution has received from your Honorable Assembly.

That although the School has laboured under many and great disadvantages from the want of a proper school-house (which would have been erected in the course of last Autumn if carpenter's labour had not been monopolized by the building of the Hotel:) the benefits of a sound, religious, moral and intellectual education are abundantly manifest in the children and have been by them indirectly conveyed to their parents.

That this amelioration of the general condition of the people of colour in this town must be evident to any one conversant with their history.

That the advancement which the children have made in every branch of knowledge in which they have been instructed, and their great improvement in the whole tenor of their conduct and deportment refute the opinion which was too commonly entertained, that there prevailed amongst them a peculiar want of moral principle, and a natural deficiency of mental power.

That from the opening of the school (every system of education tending to produce emulation having been rejected) no bad or unkind feelings have been generated in the children; and that consequently their acquirements will not disqualify them for the performance of their duty in any state of life in which it may please God to place them.

That the master has voluntarily taken upon himself to instruct the most proficient amongst the boys (who were well acquainted with the common rules of arithmetic) in Geometry, Navigation, and the art of Surveying:—that this extended education has been followed by excellent effects;—more especially as it will increase the qualifications of the people of colour as seamen; and their aptitude for the service of merchant-sailors can be attested by the mercantile community of Halifax.

That your Petitioner feels great satisfaction in assuring your Honorable Assembly that adult persons of colour (many of whom had attained the middle stage of life) have been taught to read in the African School, and have thereby been enabled to acquire a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which affords them profit and delight. That this good has been effected by the master devoting three evenings in the week to their instruction.

That there are now on the Register of the day-school the names of sixty three children; and since the establishment of the African School two hundred and twenty five persons have been instructed within its walls.

That your Petitioner will not further expatiate on the manifold advantages which the people of color derive from the Institution for which he pleads,—hoping that Members of your Honorable Assembly will, as heretofore, visit the seminary, and satisfy their own minds of the truth of your Petitioner's representations.

That African Schools have been established at Preston, Hammond's Plains, and, in an humble way, even at Beech Hill, where there is a settlement of only ten families;—that similar results have supervened, varying of course with the greater destitution which exists in these desolate places.

That your Petitioner earnestly solicits a continuance of the stipend which has formerly been granted to the master and mistress of the African School, (the latter of whom has imparted practical instruction to the Girls in the most useful and profitable department of female work);—and that your Honorable Assembly will take into its most favorable consideration the peculiarity of the claims of the people of colour, and their utter inability to provide suitable instruction for themselves, under the circumstances in which they are at present situated.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Robert Willis D.D.

January 27th 1840.

Statement of the Income and Expenditure of the African School at Halifax during the year 1839.

Income

Tuition money received for scholars	£ 12-10- 0
Entrance for scholars not paid, but probably will	4-15- 0
Received from Doctor Bray's Associates £40 sterl'g	50- 0- 0
Grant from the Province Treasury	100- 0- 0
Private Subscriptions	5- 0- 0
	172- 5- 0

Expenditure

Fuel	22- 1- 6
Contingent expences (sic)	5-19- 4
Salary of the master	110- 0- 0
Salary of the mistress	40- 0- 0
	178- 0-10

P.A.N.S., vol. 296, doc. 48.

APPENDIX XX

To the Honble House of Representatives now in General Assembly at Halifax

The Memorial of the People of Colour Settled at Preston
Humbly Sheweth

That nearly all Memorialists were settled or located on their lands as early as the years 1815 and 1816.

That they were led to expect that their lands would be granted to them in three years after they had occupied them by licence, and they received licence tickets accordingly.

That although they have repeatedly applied for their Grant, they have not received it untill (sic) this late period and are still occupying their lands, without any title except their possession. That many of your Memorialists are put to great loss and inconvenience, by not having their grant. That your Memorialists are generally exceadingly (sic) poor, and ignorant of what is their rights. And that they submit their case to the known justice and liberallity (sic) of your Honorable House.

Whereupon Memorialists humbly pray that your honorable house will take their case into your wise consideration and take such measures that Memorialists may receive a grant for the land which they have been so long improving, to include all the land which they occupy in Preston, by tickets of location, by orders of survey, and by other authority emanating from Government.

(64 marks and signatures affixed)

(The Lieut. Governor desires that all the Black People who have got Tickets of Location in this Province for lands may immediately be confirmed in the same agreeable to the Directions of the Government.)
(undated)

P.A.N.S. Vol. 422, doc. 46

APPENDIX XXI

Petition of Colored People at Preston

To His Excellency

Lord Viscount Falkland &c &c &c

Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia

We the undersigned Inhabitants of the Township of Preston, beg leave respectfully to approach your Excellency with a statement of the hardships of our Situation, and to request your Excellencys aid to remove the disabilities under which we labour.

Petitioners are Refugees, brought from the Plantations of the southern States, during the American War or their decendants (sic), being placed by Government upon ten acre lots, of poor land, many of them including swamps and likewise entirely barren & unproductive, and none of them sufficient to yield subsistence for a family however skillfull (sic) and industrious, they have dragged on a miserable existence but few, if any of them, rising above the level of hopeless poverty. But few white men in this country seldom make a living upon ten acres of good land, and Petitioners believe that any number of them similarly placed to themselves in a strange country, and beneath a rigorous climate, after being recently relieved from the associations and pressure of slavery and the heat of a southern sun, would have for many years presented the same spectacle that the coloured people of Preston have exhibited.

The object of this Petition is twofold

1st To humbly pray your Excellency to allow grants to pass confirming our titles to the lands we occupy, that those of us who wish to sell and remove to better locations or follow other employments may dispose of our lands and improvements to those who remain. At present, holding under Tickets of location, we cannot sell to advantage, we are tied to the land without being able to live upon it, or even vote upon it, without being at every Election questioned, browbeaten and sworn.

2nd. Our humble prayer is, that your Excellency will cause some larger and better lots of land to be laid off, and assigned to those of us, who are willing to remove upon such terms of settlement as will enable us to acquire a freehold by patient industry and frugality and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray—

William Dair Senr.
Sampson Carter

(and about 105 others; all but about three (excl. 2 above) made their X's).

For grants of their Lots, and for larger and better lots for those who are disposed to remove

Recd 23d Feb. 1841.

Referred to Surveyor General

By His Excellency's Command

RD George

In Council 11 March 1841.

A plan and description of the several lots which had been laid out to Blacks at Preston passed this office on the 4th Mar. 1836, and in the preceding year of the lots laid out for the Blacks at Hammonds Plains. Why the Grants were not perfected I know not. There can be no doubt that in this severe climate at least 100 acres would be required for each family in order to afford a proper supply of fuel, but at the same time these people have wasted their fuel by burning the wood into charcoal. I am not aware of their being any authority for passing Free Grants to them.

Department of Crown Lands — John Spry Morris

4th March 1841 — Comr. Crown Lands

P.A.N.S., Box-Crown Lands—Peninsula of Halifax—1840-1845.

APPENDIX XXII

NEGROES—MARCH, 1841

To the Honorable the General Assembly now convened at Halifax; the Petition of the Reverend Robert Willis, Doctor of Divinity, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and Archdeacon of Nova Scotia,
Humbly Showeth,

That the African School which has hitherto been favoured with the approbation, and fostered by the aid of your Honorable Assembly, exhibits most satisfactory indications of increasing prosperity and usefulness.

That although the number of day-scholars is such as to render the school-room, in its present state, inconveniently crowded and hot, and thereby to augment the labours of the master and mistress, while those labours are consequently made more than usually wearing and oppressive, —the master, nevertheless, with indefatigable, and meritorious but unremunerated zeal, devotes four evenings of the week to the arduous and engrossing task of teaching a night-school.

That in this night-school there are fifty learners, a great majority of whom are adults, who are living at service, and are indebted to the kindness of considerate employers for being thus permitted to redeem time which might have been lost, or to avail themselves of advantages which may never have heretofore been presented to them.

That a plan for rebuilding the school-house has undergone consideration, and would have been executed but for the hope that by delay such additions might be made to the building-fund as would provide an Institution not merely adequate to all the wants of the People of Colour in Halifax, but capable of becoming a Normal or Training School, in which masters might be qualified for the numerous Coloured Settlements in Nova Scotia, —whose claims your Petitioner incidentally but respectfully now introduces to the notice of your Honorable Assembly.

That as an instance of these claims your Petitioner will mention only the case of Port La Tour; from which place two or three coloured persons happened to be in Halifax in the course of last year, and having visited the African School here, they were (on witnessing the privileges which their more fortunate brethren were enjoying) so impressed with the advantages of knowledge, that they became actually importunate for the establishment of a similar Institution in their own neighbourhood.

That they instantly on their return to Port LaTour represented to the rest of the coloured people there the importance of Education, and by a laudable union of exertion a school-house was built, and a School was opened, in perfecting which your Petitioner would have gladly assisted, if there had been at his disposal any pecuniary resources available for so desirable an object.

That your Petitioner being aware of the likelihood that the general system of Education, throughout the Province, will be subjected to revision under the wisdom of your Honorable Assembly, ventures to express his earnest hope that no alteration or modification of the existing principle will deprive the African School in Halifax of the full amount of that support, which the liberality of your Honorable Assembly has hitherto bestowed upon it, and to which the peculiar condition of the People of Colour justly entitles it.

That your Petitioner gratefully acknowledges the obligations of the African School to the Members of your Honorable Assembly who have kindly and frequently visited the Institution, and have thereby greatly encouraged both the teachers and scholars; and your Petitioner respectfully solicits a repetition of such visits, that the rapid improvement of the children may be satisfactorily ascertained, and that it may be evinced that his statements are not overcharged, and that the continual, and praiseworthy, and successful exertions of the Master and Mistress are not in any degree accentuated.

Robert Willis

Halifax March 1, 1841.

P.A.N.S., vol. 297, doc. 160.

APPENDIX XXIII

Petition of Colored People at Preston

Read the petition of a number of colored people settled at Preston praying to be confirmed by grants in the possession of the lands they now occupy under tickets of location in order that those who may wish to remove elsewhere may be able to dispose of their lands and improvements; and praying further that for such of them as are willing to remove larger and better lots may be laid off "upon such terms of settlement as will enable them to acquire a freehold by patient industry and frugality."

Ordered that with a view to the passing of a General Grant to these poor people of the lands long occupied by them the Surveyor General be directed to ascertain and report what changes in the ownership thereof have taken place since the same were surveyed about five years since,—and that the Deputy Surveyor to be employed on this service be required to ascertain and report the names of such as are desirous to obtain farm lots in some more favorable situation.
Minutes of Council, March 11, 1841.

P.A.N.S.

APPENDIX XXIV

Province of Nova Scotia

Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen defender of the Faith and of the United Church of England and Ireland on earth the Supreme Head.

To all to whom these Presents shall come *Greeting*—

Whereas certain parcels of land in the township of Preston in the County of Halifax were formerly allotted for the use of a number of persons who settled thereon but who have never received a formal title to the same—

And Whereas many of the said persons have since sold their interest in their respective lots or have died—

And Whereas it is our pleasure to convey to the settlers on the said lands and the heirs of such of them as have died and the assigns of those who have sold, a title to their respective lots for the purpose of confirming their possession of and rendering more beneficial and effective their interest in the said lots,—

Now Know Ye that We of Our Special Grace certain knowledge and mere motion Have given and granted and by these Presents Do give and grant as hereinafter mentioned unto the persons hereinafter named or described the several lots pieces and parcels of land situated in the township of Preston in the county of Halifax containing in the whole by estimation one thousand and eight hundred acres more or less, which are classed numbered and designated on the plan hereunto annexed that is to say,— The following lots comprised in the division or block letter A on the said plan in manner following that is to say,—

A———————

1—To Shadrack Henderson the lot number One.
2—To Isaac Rowland's heirs that is to say to his children Marian, Elizabeth, Harriet and Eliza the lot number Two.
3—To Holdsy Gross the lot number Three.
5—To Widow Creighton's heirs that is to say Hannah, Margaret and Maria her grandchildren the lot number Five.
6—To Stephen John the lot number Six.
7—To William Lambart the lot number Seven.
8—To Robert Young the lot number Eight.
9—To Joseph Stewart's heirs that is to say his daughters—Fanny and Martha the lot number Nine.

10—To Jeremiah otherwise Jerry Gardiner's heirs that is to say his daughters Lucinda otherwise Cinda and Clara the lot number Ten.
11—To William Gilmore the lot number Eleven.
12—To Jenny Haynes' heirs that is to say her brother Anthony Beal the lot number Twelve.
13—
and
14—To William Gilmore the two lots numbers thirteen and fourteen.
15—To Samuel Gaskin the lot number fifteen.
16—To Moses Johnston's son Moses the lot number Sixteen.
17—
and
18—To Armiston Currie the two lots numbers Seventeen and Eighteen.
19—To Jeremiah otherwise Jerry Gardiner's heirs that is to say his daughters Lucinda otherwise Cinda and Clara the lot number Nineteen.
20—To Isaac Jones the lot number twenty.
22—To Peter Craney to lot number twenty two.
23—To George Turner the lot number twenty three.
24—To Armiston Currie the lot number twenty four.
25—To George Smith the lot number twenty five.
26—To Armiston Currie the lot number twenty six.
27—To Peter Clayton the lot number twenty seven.
28, 29
30, 31—To William Robertson the four lots numbers twenty eight, twenty nine, thirty and thirty one.
32—To William Lambart the triangular lot number thirty two.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised in the division or block letter B in the said plan hereto annexed in manner following that is to say

B

1 & 2—To George Savage the lots numbers one and two.
3—To Solomon Gunday the younger's heirs that is to say Edward otherwise Ned Wilkins the lot number three.
4—To Benson Smothers, Charles Smothers, and Bennet Smothers the lot number four.
5—To Charles Smothers the lot number five.
6—To John Evans the lot number six.
7—To John Kelly the lot number seven.
8—To William Robertson the lot number eight.
9—To Solomon Crawley the lot number nine.
10 & 11—To Peter Clayton the two lots numbers ten and eleven.
12—To Isaac Jones the lot number Twelve.

13—To John Stratton the lot number Thirteen.
14—To Henry Taylor the lot number Fourteen.
15-, 16
and 17—To Peter Craney the lots numbers fifteen sixteen and seventeen.
18—To Jesse Galway the lot number Eighteen.
19 & 20—To John Johnston the lot numbers nineteen and Twenty.
21—To Elizabeth Martin the lot number twenty one.
23—To Marada Stanley to lot number twenty three.
27 & 28—To Daniel Brook the two lots numbers twenty seven and twenty eight.
29—To George Neal the lot number twenty nine.
30—To James Kenner the lot number thirty.
31—To Edward Syke the lot number thirty one.
32—To George Neal the lot number thirty two.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised in the division or block C on the said plan hereunto annexed in manner following that is to say—

C

1 & 2—To James Slaughter the two lots numbers one and two.
3—To David Saunders and Harriett his wife the lot number three.
4—To John Kelly the lot number four.
5—To William Holmes and J. Cox's heirs that is to say to William and Mary the children of the said William Holmes and Payton and Joseph the children of the said J. Cox the lot number Five
6—To George Kerberry the lot number Six.
7—To Esree Kerberry the lot number Seven.
8—To James Thomas the lot number Eight.
9—To James Travers and Willoughby Travers the lot number nine.
10 & 11—To John Collins the lots numbers ten and Eleven.
12—To Samuel Turner's heir that is to say his son Joseph the lot number. Twelve.
13—To General Saunders the lot number Thirteen.
14—To Mary Jackson the lot number Fourteen.
15—
and } To John Thomas the two lots numbers fifteen and Sixteen.
16—
17—To Daniel Brooks two acres on the East End of lot number Seventeen.
18—To John Nelson the lot number Eighteen.
19
and } To Solomon Robertson the two lots numbers nineteen and twenty
20—

21, 22 and 23 } To Cesar Johnston the three lots numbers twenty one twenty two and twenty three.

24—To Mark Taylor the two lots numbers twenty four and twenty five.
and
25

31—To Andrew Williamson the lot number Thirty one.
32—To Daniel Brooks the lot number Thirty two.
33—To Marada Stanley the lot number Thirty three.
34—To Mary Alexander the lot number thirty four.

35 and 36 } To General Saunders the two lots numbers thirty five and thirty six

37—To Basil Croud the lot number thirty seven.
38—To Betsey Driggers the lot number thirty eight.

39 and 40 } To Peter Dickson the two lots numbers thirty nine and forty.

41—To William Dare the lot number forty one.
42—To Basil Croud the lot number forty two.
43—To William Dare the lot number forty three.

44 and 45 } To James Slaughter the two lots numbers forty four and forty five.

46—To William Holmes and J. Cox's heirs that is to say William and Mary the children of the said Wm. Holmes and Payton and Joseph the children of the said J. Cox the lot number forty six.
48—To Basil Croud the lot number forty eight.
49—To Patrick Bowlin the lot number forty nine.
50—To Mary Thomas the lot number fifty.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised in the division or block letter D on the said plan hereunto annexed in manner following that is to say

D

1—To William Crooks the lot number one.

2 and 3 } To James Slaughter the two lots numbers two and three.

4 and 5 } To William Crooks the two lots numbers four and five.

6—To James Seamore the lot number Six.

7—To Henry Hill's heirs that is to say his sons Henry and William the lot number Seven.
8—To Peter Glasgow's heirs that is to say his grandchild Margaret Bell the lot number eight.
9—To Samuel Lane's heirs that is to say his daughter Margaret lot number Nine.
10 & 11—To Moses Senior the two lots numbers ten and Eleven.
12—To Wilcock's heirs that is to say James Maladdie alias Williams and Amelia Seamore the lot number twelve.
13—To James Seamore the lot number thirteen.
14 and 15 To Benjamin Bowers the two lots numbers fourteen and fifteen.
17—To James Lee the lot number Seventeen.
18—To Philip Lee's heirs that is to say his son James Lee the lot number eighteen.
19—To James Slaughter the lot number nineteen.
21—To Jacob Ford the lot number twenty one.
22—To William Smith the lot number twenty two.
24—To James Richards and Solomon Richards the lot number twenty two.
25—To John Shankling's heir that is to say his daughter Mary the lot number twenty five.
26—To Henry Hill's heirs that is to say his sons Henry and William the lot number twenty six.
27—To Peter Duncan the lot number twenty seven.
30—To Isaac Fletcher junr. the lot number Thirty.
31—To Isaac Fletcher's heirs that is to say his children Isaac and Stephen and his daughter—Hill widow the lot number thirty one.
32—To Joseph Sprigs the lot number thirty two.
33—To Joseph Tynes and Daniel Tynes the lot number thirty three.
34—To Samuel Evans the lot number thirty four.
36—To Alexander Grant the lot number thirty six.
40—To Janet otherwise Jennie Garner the lot number forty.

Also the following hereinafter mentioned being comprised in the division or block letter E on the said plan hereunto annexed in manner following that is to say

E

1 & 2—To Luther Blair the two lots numbers one and two. reserving out of lot number one a certain house and piece of land as marked and described on the said plan.
3—To Thomas Saunders the lot number three.
4—To George Brown the lot number four.

5—To James Cook the lot number five.
6—To Sampson Carter the lot number Six.
7—To Daniel Williams the lot number Seven.
8—To William Williams the lot number eight.
9 and 10 } To Septimus Clerk the two lots numbers nine and ten.
11—To James Spark's son Jacob the lot number Eleven.
12—To James Slaughter the lot number Twelve.
13—To Daniel Clayton's heirs that is to say his son Daniel and grandchild Daniel the lot number thirteen.
14—To Thomas Yutling the lot number fourteen.
15—To Christian Manson the lot number fifteen.
16—To John Carter the lot number Sixteen.
17 and 18 } To John Brown the two lots numbers seventeen and eighteen.
20—To Samuel Blue the lot number twenty.
21—To Sampson Carter the lot number twenty one.
22—To James Hamilton the lot number twenty two.
23—To William Carter the lot number twenty three.
24—To William Townsend the lot number twenty four.
25—To Sampson Carter the lot number twenty five.
26—To Thomas Yutling the lot number twenty six.
27—To Thomas Carter the lot number twenty seven.
28—To George Brown the lot number twenty eight.
29—To William Thomson the lot number twenty nine.
30—To William McNish the lot number thirty.
32—To Watt Brown the lot number thirty two.
33—To Jack Weeks the lot number thirty three.
34—To Thomas Williams the lot number thirty four.
36 and 37 }—To Daniel Johnson the two lots numbers thirty six and thirty seven.
38—To William Hopkins the lot number thirty eight.
39—To William Crooks the lot number thirty nine.
40—To Henry Oldham the lot number forty.
41—To William Rogers the lot number forty one.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised within the division or block letter F on the said plan hereunto annexed in manner following that is to say:'

F

1—To Walter Digges the lot number one.
2—To Henry Keeling the lot number two.
3—To Joseph Glasgow the lot number three.
4—To Daniel Tuckson the lot number four.
5—To Joseph Glasgow the lot number five.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised within the division or block letter I on the said plan hereunto annexed in the manner following, that is to say:

I

1—To Jeremiah otherwise Jerry Crawley the lot number one.
3—To Daniel Hoskins the lot number three.
4—To Charles Cephas the lot number four.
6—To Daniel Johnson the lot number Six
7—To Joseph Lewis the lot number Seven.
8 and 9 } To James Coursen and Rolla Coursen the two lots numbers Eight and Nine.

Also the following lots hereinafter mentioned being comprised within the division or block letter K on the said plan hereunto annexed in manner following that is to say:—

K

1—To Tobias Linch the lot number one.
2—To Isaac Anderson the lot number Two.
3—To Brown the lot number Three.
5—To Lewis Medley the lot number Five.

And also to Solomon Crawley the lot number One in block letter L on the said plan and to Jacob Sparks the lot number Two in the same block each thereof containing fifty acres more or less.

Also to the Honorable Thomas Nicholson Jeffery and Edward H. Lowe and Titus Smith Esquires and to the survivor and survivors of them and to the heirs and assigns of such survivor the several lots or parcels of land hereinafter mentioned and according to the several allotments thereof marked and described on the said plan as aforesaid, In trust nevertheless to and for the use and benefit of the heirs of the several persons hereinafter mentioned respectively that is to say,

The following lots in division or block letter A on the said plan in manner following that is to say:

A

4—In trust for the heirs of Charles Gordon the lot number four.
21—In trust for the heirs of George Turner that is to say his son George Turner and other children the lot number Twenty one.

The following lots in division or block letter B on the said plan in manner following that is to say:

B

22—In trust for the heirs of Robert Burr or Bird the lot number twenty two.

24, 25 and 26 } In trust for the heirs of Thomas Dines the lots numbers twenty four, twenty five and twenty six.

The following lots in division or block letter C on the said plan in manner following that is to say,—

C

27—In trust for the heirs of Bray Cooper that is to say his children Charlotte Hannah and others, the lot numbers twenty seven.

28 and 29 } In trust for the heirs of John Parkins that is to say his children Samuel and Charles and others the two lots numbers twenty eight and twenty nine.

30—In trust for the heirs of Bray Cooper as aforesaid the lot number thirty.

47—In trust for the heirs of Henry Gross the lot number forty seven.

The following lots in division or block letter D on the said plan in manner following that is to say,—

D

16—In trust for the heirs of John Gregory the lot number Sixteen.

20—In trust for the heirs of Lewis Cowie the lot number twenty.

23—In trust for the heirs of Abram Ross the lot number twenty three.

35—In trust for the heirs of Edward Tab the lot number thirty five.

37 38 and 39 } In trust for, the heirs of Charles Dunmore the lots numbers thirty seven thirty eight and thirty nine.

The following lots in division or block letter E on the said plan in manner following that is to say—

19—In trust for the heirs of Lewis Cabarras the lot number nineteen.

31—In trust for the heirs of Meshack Delaware the lot number thirty one.

35—In trust for the heirs of Thomas Quintus the lot number thirty five.

The following lots in division or block letter I on the said plan in manner following that is to say—

I

2—In trust for the heirs of Adam Green the lot number two.

5—In trust for the heirs of James Martin the lot number five.

K. In trust for the heirs of Wallace the lot number four in
4. division or block letter K.....
which said lots are abutted and bounded according to the said annexed

plan containing in the whole the said quantity of one thousand and eight hundred acres more or less and have such shape form and marks as appears by the said plan thereof hereunto annexed together with all woods underwoods timber and timber trees lakes ponds fisheries waters watercourses profits commodities appurtenances and hereditaments whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining together with the privilege of hunting hawking and fowling in and upon the same saving and reserving nevertheless to us our heirs and successors all and singular the mines of gold and silver, coal, Iron, Stone, Limestone, Slatestone, Slate-rock, tin, copper, lead, and ores of every kind and description, To Have and To Hold the said several lots and parcels of land and all and singular other the premises hereby granted unto the said several grantees their heirs and assigns to their use severally and respectively and to the said Trustees hereinbefore named and to the survivors and survivor of them and to the heirs and assigns of such survivor in trust as aforesaid for ever in free and common Socage Provided always that the grant shall be registered in the Secretary's Office of Our Said Province of Nova Scotia to which Registry shall be attached a duplicate of the plan hereunto annexed. Given under the Great Seal of Our said Province of Nova Scotia.

Witness Our trusty and well beloved Lucius Bentinck Viscount Falkland Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic order and member of Her Majesty's Most honorable Privy Council Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over our said Province this day of in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty two.

It appearing to me that the within lands have been allotted as within mentioned and that survey has been duly made and returned by the Surveyor General of Lands unto the Secretary's Office with a plan and description of the lands hereinbefore mentioned and described and it also appearing that no part of said lands are (sic) contained within any of the reservations made for Her Majesty's Service I have in obedience to Her Majesty's instructions prepared the foregoing draught of a grant and I know of no objections to passing the same pursuant to the foregoing form care being taken to annex the plan under the Great Seal when it is affixed thereto; all which I certify to whom it may concern this Twenty-third day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty two.

J. W. Johnston

Atty. Genl.

P.A.N.S., Land Grants.

APPENDIX XXV

Negroes in Nova Scotia in 1851

1851 Census of Colored Persons

	Males	Females	Total
Halifax	733	955	1,688
Lunenburg	7	4	11
Queen's	107	106	213
Shelburne	209	231	440
Yarmouth	126	121	247
Digby	226	228	454
Annapolis	253	230	483
King's	95	90	185
Hants	75	95	170
Cumberland	61	75	136
Colchester	10	10	20
Pictou	13	7	20
Sydney	73	89	162
Guysboro'	294	309	603
Inverness	1	2	3
Richmond	20	21	41
Cape Breton / Victoria	18	14	32
Total	2,321	2,587	4,908

Appendix 94, Assembly Journal 1852.

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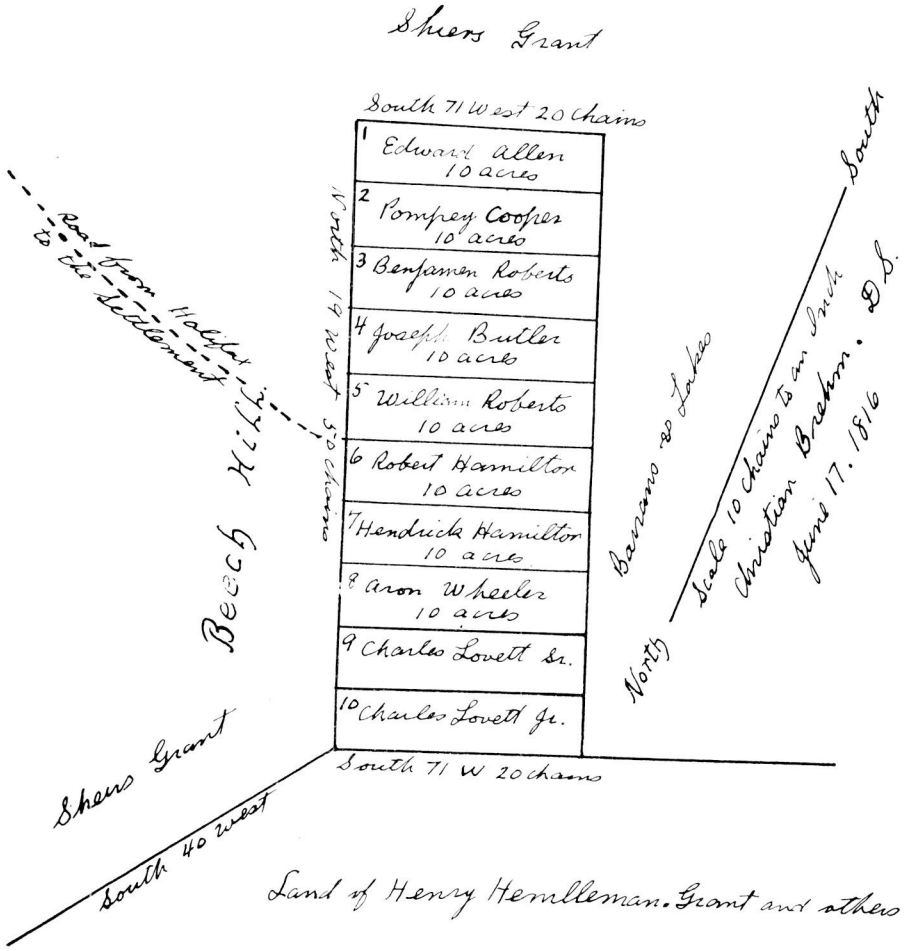
Shews Grant
South 71 West 20 chains
1 Edward Allen 10 acres
2 Pompey Coopes 10 acres
3 Benjamen Roberts 10 acres
4 Joseph Butler 10 acres
5 William Roberts 10 acres
6 Robert Hamilton 10 acres
7 Hendrick Hamilton 10 acres
8 Aron Wheeler 10 acres
9 Charles Lovett Sr.
10 Charles Lovett Jr.
North 10 west 50 chains
Road from Hobart's to the Settlement
Beech Hill
Barnaro & Lakes
South
Scale 10 chains to an Inch
Christian Brehm. D.S.
June 17. 1816
North
Shews Grant
South 40 west
South 71 W 20 chains

Land of Henry Hemlleman. Grant and others

Charles Morris
S Gen

G.M
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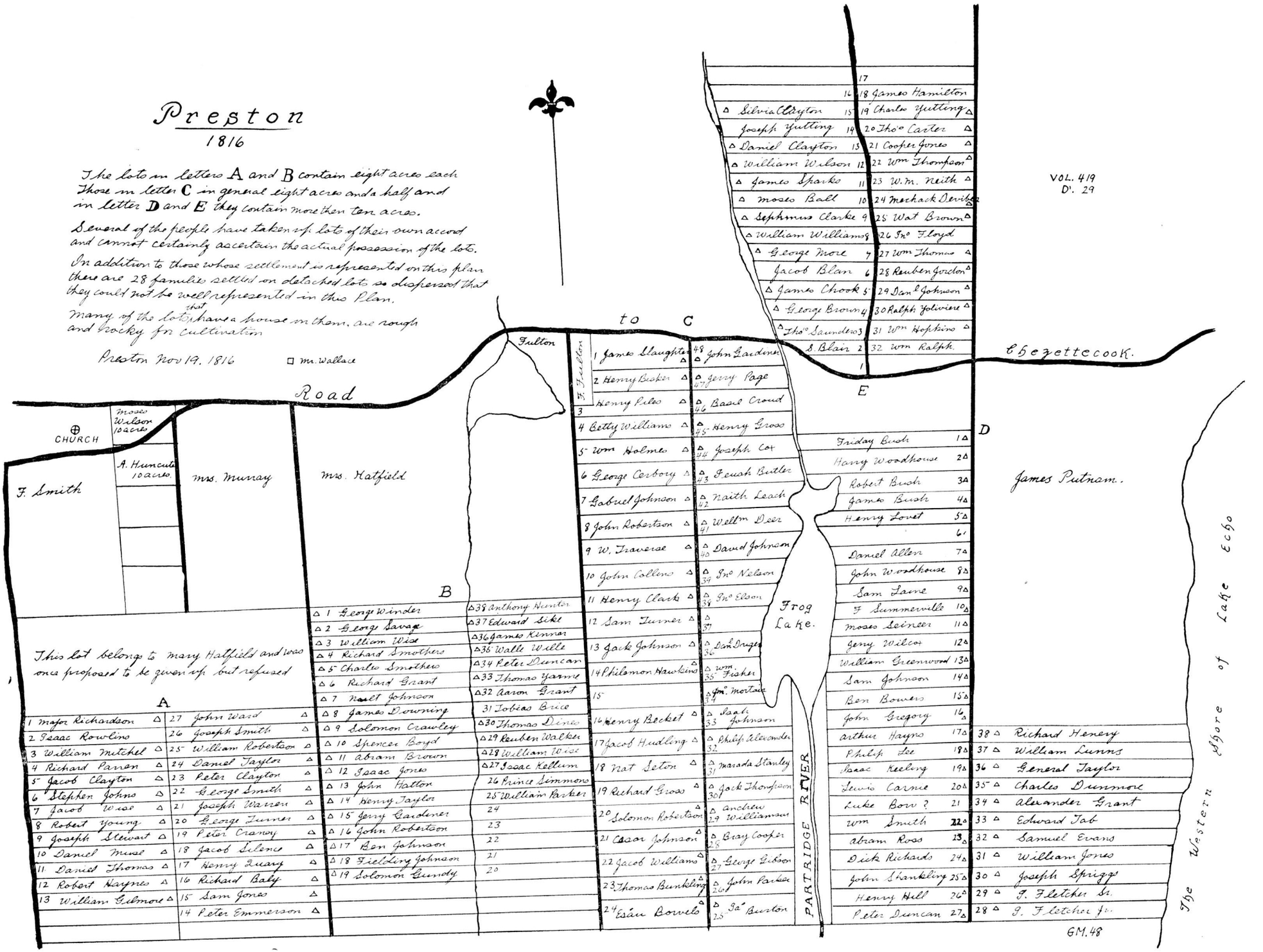
Preston
1816
The lots in letters A and B contain eight acres each
Those in letter C in general eight acres and a half and
in letter D and E they contain more then ten acres.
Several of the people have taken up lots of their own accord
and cannot certainly ascertain the actual possession of the lots.
In addition to those whose settlement is represented on this plan
there are 28 families settled on detached lots so dispersed that
they could not be well represented in this Plan.
Many of the lots that have a house on them, are rough
and rocky for cultivation
Preston Nov 19. 1816 □ m. Wallace
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Road
to C
Fulton
Ebenezer Cook.
CHURCH
F. Smith
Moses Wilson 10 acres
A. Huncutt 10 acres
mrs. Murray
mrs. Hatfield
This lot belongs to mary Hatfield and was once proposed to be given up but refused
A
B
C
D
E
Frog Lake.
PARTRIDGE RIVER
James Putnam.
The Western Shore of Lake Erie
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Hammond Plains.

References

No1. William Butler
2. P? Butler
3. George Guinea
4. Isaac Butler
5. William Day.
6. Hector Butler
7. Joseph Butler
8. Cato Butler
9. George Butler
10. Abraham Butler

No.1 Each lot contains 10 acres of land 5 chains in front and 20 in length having the same course as described in the Plan. Lot No.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 laid off in No.2— Lot No 8, 9, 10 laid off in No.3, it is to be understood that part of Lot No.8 is in No.2.

1816

Hammond Plains.

Road from Halifax to Saint Margarets Bay

SMITHS FIELD

S 60° W 110 Chains

SMALL POCKQUACK

No.1

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2 3

160 Chains

23 C 20 L 27 C 27 C 27 C 27 C 27 C

N 34° W

Adolphus Veith

Scale 20 chains to 1 inch.

S 60° W

Floyd and Webber

SPRUCE

N 34° W. 250 chains

N 34° W 250 chains

Rear Line of the Windsor Road Lots.

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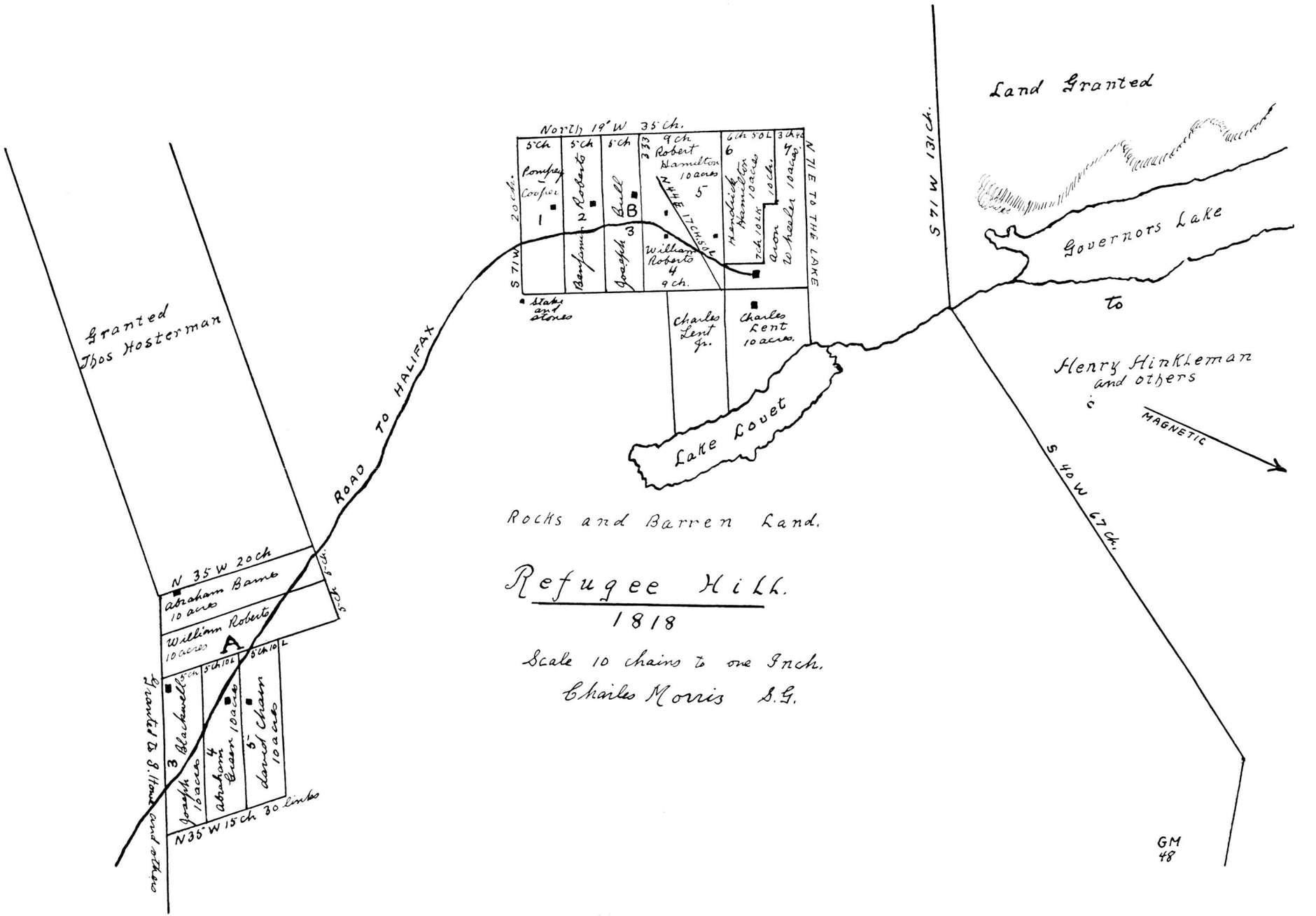
Granted
Thos Hosterman
N 35 W 20 ch
Abraham Barss
10 acres
William Roberts
10 acres
A
5 ch 10 L
5 ch
5 ch 10 L
B
Joseph Blackwell
10 acres
4
Abraham Barss
10 acres
5
Daniel Charn
10 acres
N 35° W 15 ch 30 links
Granted to S. Howe and others
ROAD TO HALIFAX
North 19° W 35 ch.
5 ch
5 ch
5 ch
333
9 ch
Robert Hamilton
10 acres
5
6 ch 50 L
3 ch
6
7 ch 10 L
10 ch.
10 acres
Pompey Cooper
1
Benjamin Roberts
2
Bull
B
3
Joseph
William Roberts
4
9 ch.
Hendrick Hamilton
10 acres
Aron Wheeler
10 acres
20 ch.
S 71 W
N 71 E TO THE LAKE
Stake and stones
Charles Lent Jr.
Charles Lent
10 acres.
Lake Louet
Rocks and Barren Land.
Refugee Hill.
1818
Scale 10 chains to one Inch.
Charles Morris S.G.
S 71 W 131 ch.
Land Granted
Governors Lake
to
Henry Hinkleman
and others
MAGNETIC
S 40 W 67 ch.
GM
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